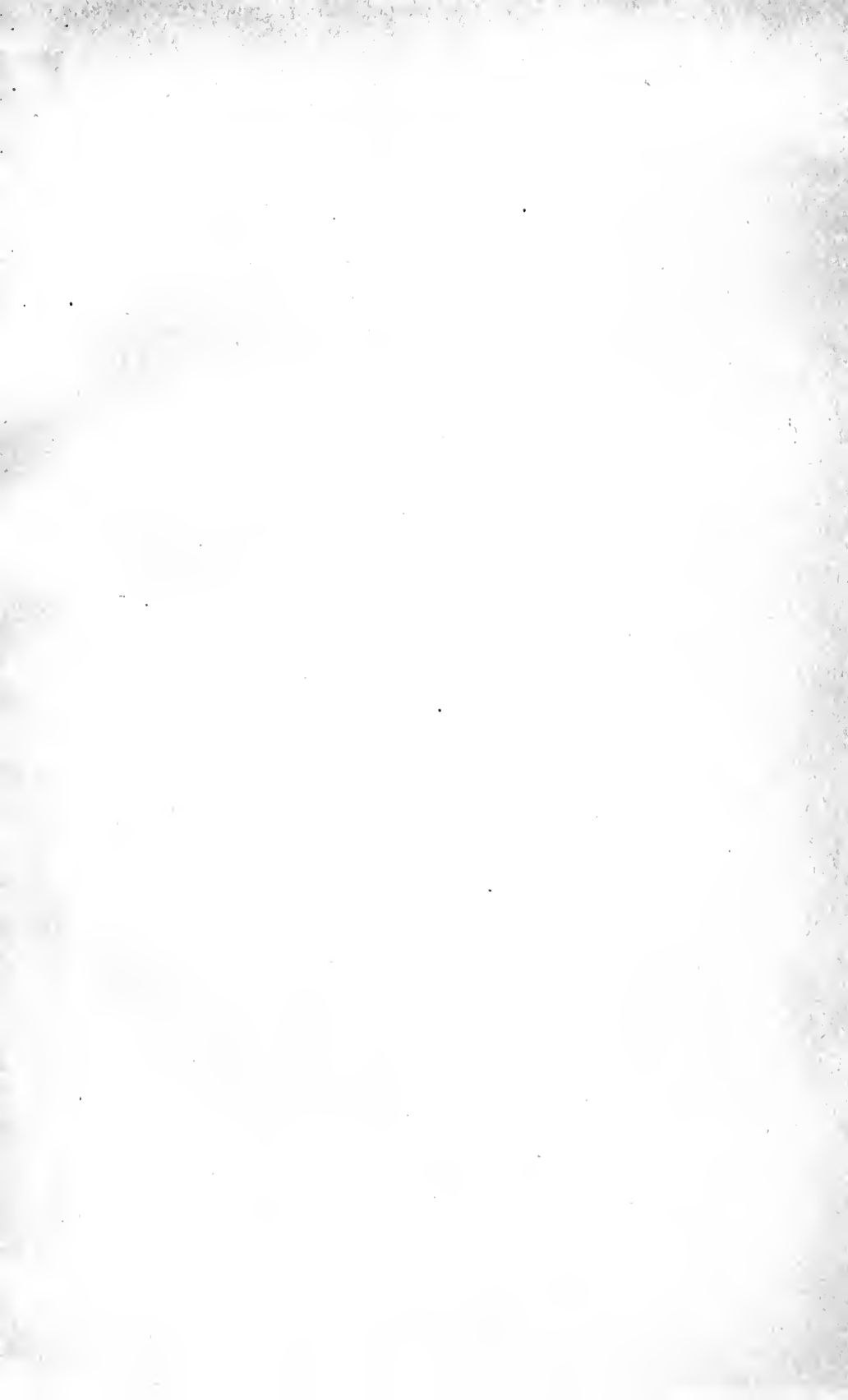




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DECATURS CONFLICT WITH THE ALGERINE PIRATES, FEB. 3, 1804

LOSSING'S HISTORY of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FROM THE ABORIGINAL TIMES
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D.

*Author of "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," "Cyclopedia of United States History,"
"Field Book of the War of 1812"*

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45

CONTENTS OF VOL. V.

	PAGE
CHAPTER XCIII.,	1199
Manufactures in our Country, p. 1199—Report and Resolutions of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 1200—Preparations for War, 1201—Embargo Act, 1201—War against Great Britain declared, 1202—Provisions for War, 1202—A factious peace Party, 1203—Appointment of general Officers, 1204—A fatal Mistake, 1204—The British Force on the American Station, 1204—Affairs in the Northwest, 1205—Military Movements in Canada, 1205—Invasion of Canada by Americans, 1205—Canadian Militia and Indians, 1206—Mackinaw captured, 1206—Americans evacuate Canada, 1207—Surrender of Detroit, 1208—Events at Chicago, 1209.	
CHAPTER XCIV.,	1212
Unfortunate Movement, p. 1212—New England and Great Britain, 1212—Patriotism of the People, 1215—A new Invasion of Canada contemplated, 1215—Gathering of the New York Militia, 1215—The British on the alert, 1215—Control of the Lakes sought, 1215—Troops on the Niagara Frontier, 1216—Battle at Queenstown, 1216—Bravery of Wool and Death of Brock, 1217—Influence of Scott, 1218—Cowardice of the Militia, 1218—Surrender of the Americans, 1218—The military Situation, 1218—American naval Victories, 1219—Public Honors awarded the Victors, 1219.	
CHAPTER XCV.,	1227
The northern Frontier, p. 1227—Skirmish at Sackett's Harbor, 1227—Naval Fight on the St. Lawrence, 1228—Chauncey on Lake Ontario, 1228—Events on the St. Lawrence and Niagara Frontiers, 1229—A conspicuous military Failure, 1230—General Harrison in the West, 1231—Enthusiasm of the People there, 1231—Massacre at the River Raisin, 1232—Fort Meigs built and besieged, 1233—Bravery of Captain Combs, 1234—Dudley's Defeat, 1234—Civil Affairs considered, 1235—Mediation of Russia offered, 1236—Siege of Fort Stephenson, 1238—The British repulsed, 1239—The Effects, 1239.	
CHAPTER XCVI.,	1240
Command of Lake Erie coveted, p. 1240—Captain Perry superintends the Creation of a Fleet on that Lake, 1240—The American and British Squadrons, 1241—Naval Battle on Lake Erie, 1242—Perry reports to Harrison, 1243—Harrison pursues the British from Malden, 1244—Battle on the Thames, 1244—Defeat of the British, 1244—Michigan recovered, 1245—Events on the St. Lawrence Frontier, 1245—Capture of York and Fort George, 1246—Battle at Stony Creek, 1248—British repulsed at Sackett's Harbor, 1249—Affair at the Beaver Dams, 1250—Another Invasion of Canada planned, 1251—Disagreements of general Officers, 1251.	
CHAPTER XCVII.,	1252
Events on the Niagara Frontier, p. 1252—Colonel Scott and Regulars march eastward, 1254—Events on Lake Champlain, 1254—Events on Lake Ontario, 1255—Expedition against Montreal, 1256—Military Movements in northern New York, 1256—Battle of	

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Chrysler's Field, 1257—The American Troops in Winter Quarters, 1257—Cruelties on the Niagara Frontier, 1257—Destruction of Buffalo, 1257—Events in the Gulf Region, 1258—War on the Creek Indians, 1259—Jackson subdues them, 1261—Naval Events on the Ocean, 1262—Cruise of the <i>Essex</i> , 1262—The <i>Hornet</i> and <i>Peacock</i> , 1263—The <i>Chesapeake</i> and <i>Shannon</i> , 1264—Loss of the <i>Argus</i> , 1265—Victory of the <i>Enterprise</i> , 1265.	
CHAPTER XCVIII.,	1266
Marauding Warfare, p. 1266—Plunder and Destruction of Towns, 1267—Cockburn at Havre-de-Grace, 1267—Norfolk threatened, 1267—The British repulsed, 1268—Cruelties at Hampton, 1269—Departure of the Marauders, 1269—Cruise of Commodore Rogers, 1269—Fall of Napoleon, 1271—Peace Faction, 1272—Financial Difficulties, 1273—Conspiracy against the public Credit, 1273—Disposition of Troops on the northern Frontiers, 1274—La Colle Mills, 1274—Attack on Oswego, 1275—Capture of Fort Erie, 1275—Battle of Chippewa, 1276.	
CHAPTER XCIX.,	1278
Effects of the Battle of Chippewa, p. 1278—Movements of the two Armies, 1278—Battle of Niagara Falls, 1279—Attack on Fort Erie, 1280—A successful Sortie, 1281—The Americans abandon Canada, 1282—Navies on Lake Champlain, 1282—Invasion of northern New York, 1283—Battles on Land and Water at Plattsburg, 1284—Events on Lake Ontario, 1285—Expedition against Mackinaw, 1286—McArthur's Raid, 1286—New England Coasts blockaded, 1286—Boston and New York fortified by the People, 1287—British repulsed at Stonington, 1289—Their Doings on the Penobscot, 1290.	
CHAPTER C.,	1291
Threatened Dangers unheeded, p. 1291—Weakness of the national Capital, 1291—Tardiness of the Government, 1292—Barney's Flotilla, 1292—Preparations to defend the Capital, 1293—Battle at Bladensburg, 1293—Flight of civil Officers, 1293—Mrs. Madison, 1294—Destruction of Property at Washington, 1294—Alexandria plundered, 1296—The British before Baltimore, 1296—Battle of North Point, 1296—Bombardment of Fort McHenry, 1298—Repulse of the British, 1298—"The Star-Spangled Banner," 1299—Naval Operations, 1299—Privateers, 1301—Change in the Theatre of Operations, 1302.	
CHAPTER CI.,	1303
The Creek Indians, p. 1303—The British at Pensacola and Fort Bowyer, 1303—General Jackson drives the British from Pensacola, 1305—Is called to New Orleans, 1305—Invasion of Louisiana contemplated, 1305—Lafitte and his Band of Outlaws, 1305—Jackson in New Orleans, 1305—The British in the Gulf, 1305—Events on Lake Borgne, 1306—Battle below New Orleans, 1306—Pakenham and his Troops, 1306—Jackson's Line of Defence, 1307—Battle near New Orleans, 1307—Defeat and Retreat of the British, 1307—Honors to Jackson, 1308—The General fined for Contempt of Court, 1309—Treaty of Peace, 1309—Its Effects, 1311—Effects of the War, 1311—The Hartford Convention, its Cause, Designs, and Doings, 1312—Adjustment of public Affairs, 1314—Result of the War, 1314—The Barbary Powers humbled, 1315.	
CHAPTER CII.,	1316
Banks, p. 1316—Finances of the Government, 1316—A national Bank, 1316—Troubles about Boundaries in the Gulf Region, 1318—Beginning of Monroe's Administration, 1318—His Cabinet, 1318—State of the Republic and its Industries, 1319—The West and its Growth, 1319—Chicago, 1320—The President's Tour, 1320—The Slave Question, 1320—	

Colonization Societies, 1321—Liberia founded, 1321—Pirates and slave Dealers, 1321—Troubles with the Indians, 1322—Jackson in Florida, 1322—Doings at Pensacola, 1322—Florida added to the Union, 1323—Missouri Territory, 1323—Admission of Missouri as a State, 1323—Violent Debates on Slavery, 1324—Anti-slavery Movements, 1325—Pirates subdued, 1326—Effects of Whitney's Cotton-gin, 1325—The "Monroe Doctrine," 1326—Visit of Lafayette, 1327—Lafayette at the Tomb of Washington, 1327—Measures of Monroe's Administration, 1327—State of the Country, 1328.

CHAPTER CIII., 1329

President John Quincy Adams, p. 1329—The Georgians and the Indians, 1330—The Erie Canal, 1330—Wedding the Lakes and the Sea, 1331—Death of Adams and Jefferson, 1332—South American Republics, 1332—The American System, 1332—A national Convention and its Results, 1332—Administration of President Adams, 1333—President Jackson's Inauguration, Character, and Policy, 1333—Removal of the Cherokees, 1334—United States Bank, 1334—Black Hawk War, 1334—State Supremacy and Nullification, 1334—War on the United States Bank, 1334—Speculation and the Credit System, 1336—War with the Seminoles, 1337—Intercourse with foreign Governments, 1340—Indemnities settled, 1340—Commercial Treaties, 1340—New States, 1340—Jackson's last official Act, 1341.

CHAPTER CIV., 1342

Inauguration of Mr. Van Buren, p. 1342—A commercial Revulsion, 1342—Extra Session of Congress, 1343—Insurrection in the Canadas, 1343—Burning of the *Caroline*, 1344—Northeastern boundary Troubles, 1344—The Ashburton Treaty, 1345—"Hard Cider Campaign," 1345—General Harrison elected President, 1345—Divorce of Banks and State, 1345—Harrison's Inauguration and Death, 1346—John Tyler becomes President, 1346—History of political Parties, 1346—Extra Session of Congress, 1347—Bills for a national Bank passed and vetoed, 1348—Dissolution of the Cabinet, 1349—South Sea exploring Expedition, 1350—Smithsonian Institution, 1350—Trouble in Rhode Island, 1350—Texas and its Annexation, 1351—A sad Accident, 1352—Oregon, 1352—President Tyler's Retirement, 1353.

CHAPTER CV., 1354

President Polk, p. 1354—Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1354—Annexation of Texas, 1355—Preparations for War, 1355—Bargain with Santa Anna and its Results, 1355—Army of Occupation in Texas, 1356—General Taylor and Troops on the Rio Grande, 1357—Generals Ampudia and Taylor, 1357—Fort Brown constructed, 1357—First Bloodshed, 1357—A Mexican Force in Texas, 1357—Attack on Fort Brown, 1358—Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, 1358—General Taylor enters Mexico, 1360—Declarations of War by the two Governments, 1360—Plan of a Campaign, 1360—Siege and Capture of Monterey, 1361—Santa Anna in Mexico, 1361—General Wool in Mexico, 1361—Conquests by the Navy, 1362—General Scott calls for Taylor's Troops, 1362—Battle of Buena Vista, 1363—Movements of General Taylor, 1365—Events in northern Mexico, 1365—Conquest of New Mexico and California, 1366.

CHAPTER CVI., 1368

Capture of Vera Cruz, p. 1368—March toward the Capital of Mexico, 1369—Battle of Cerro Gordo, 1369—Flight of Santa Anna, 1369—Capture of Jalapa, Perote, and Pueblo, 1370—A wonderful Campaign, 1370—March over the Cordilleras, 1371—Peace Propositions rejected, 1373—Defences of the Mexican Capital, 1373—Battles near that

City, 1373—Conquest of the Empire, 1374—Treaty of Peace, 1375—Gold found in California, 1376—Results of the War with Mexico, 1376—Election and Inauguration of General Taylor as President of the Republic, 1376—California seeks Admission into the Union, 1378—Violent Debates on the Subject of Slavery, 1378—Its temporary Settlement by a Compromise, 1378—Death of President Taylor, 1379—Accession of President Fillmore, 1379—Compromise Bills passed, 1379—Invasion of Cuba, 1380.

CHAPTER CVII., 1381

The Mormons: their Origin and Progress, p. 1381—The Fugitive-Slave Law, 1383—Invasion of Cuba, 1383—Territory bought of the Indians, 1384—Enlargement of the Capitol, 1384—Kossuth and his Cause, 1384—Disputes about Fisheries, 1385—Relations with Japan, 1385—Tripartite Treaty, 1385—The Ostend Conference, 1386—President Pierce and his Cabinet, 1386—Exploring Expeditions, 1387—Union Pacific Railroad, 1387—The Sandwich Islands, 1387—Our foreign Relations, 1388—Kansas and Nebraska Territories, 1388—Controversy about Slavery, 1388—Difficulties with Spain, 1388—Raids in Central America, 1389—War with Indians, 1390—Violation of neutrality Laws, 1390—Conflict between Freedom and Slavery, 1390—Political Struggles in Kansas, 1390—A State Constitution adopted, 1391—Violence in Kansas, 1391—Political Parties, 1391.

CHAPTER CVIII., 1395

A new Era, p. 1395—Skirmishes before the Civil War, 1396—The Democratic Party, 1396—The Dred Scott Decision, 1397—Action of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1397—Early Efforts to restrict Slavery, 1398—Slaves in England, 1398—The Status of Slavery here, 1399—President Buchanan's Course foreshadowed, 1400—Civil War in Kansas and civil Government there, 1400—Lecompton Constitution adopted and rejected, 1401—Admission of Kansas as a State, 1401—A judicial Decision practically reversed, 1402—Reopening of the African slave Trade and Action concerning it, 1402—Working of the Fugitive-Slave Law, 1405—Action of State Legislatures, 1405—Troubles with the Mormons, 1406.

CHAPTER CIX., 1407

Public Quiet broken by John Brown's Raid, p. 1407—Incidents of that Raid and its Effects, 1408—The Republican Party, 1409—A Pretext for Revolution, 1410—Convention of Democrats at Charleston, 1411—Disruption of the Democratic Party, 1413—Incidents of the Plan, 1413—Nominations for President, 1414—Principles of the Parties, 1415—Lincoln elected, 1417—Action of the Southern Politicians, 1417—Yancey's Mission, 1417—Fatal Power of the Politicians, 1417.

CHAPTER CX., 1419

The Pretext for Disunion, p. 1419—True Reasons, 1419—State-Rights Associations, 1421—Desires for a royal Government and aristocratic Privileges, 1421—Early Preparations for Disunion, 1422—Secret Conferences, 1422—Sentiments of Virginians, 1422—Congratulatory Despatches on Lincoln's Election, 1423—Excitement in Charleston, 1424—Public Offices abdicated, 1424—A State Convention authorized, 1424—Secret Doings of Secessionists, 1425—Movements in South Carolina, 1425—State Supremacy and its Effects, 1426—Events in Georgia, 1426—Toombs and Stephens, 1427—Movements toward Secession in various States, 1427—Southern Methodists, 1427—Initial Steps for Disunion in South Carolina, 1428—Dishonorable Propositions, 1428—Vigilance Committees, 1429—Secession assured, 1429.

	PAGE
CHAPTER CXI.,	1430
Secession Convention in South Carolina, p. 1430—Proceedings of the Convention, 1430—Ordinance of Secession adopted, 1431—Public Excitement, 1431—Signing the Ordinance, 1432—Anxiety of the loyal People, 1432—Secretary Cobb's Schemes, 1433—President's Message: its Tone and Reception, 1434—The Attorney-General's Opinion, 1434—Movements of the People and the Clergy, 1436—Proceedings in South Carolina, 1437—Declaration of Independence, 1437—Nationality of South Carolina proclaimed, 1437—Events in Charleston Harbor, 1438—Secretary Floyd's Treachery, 1439—Transfer of Troops to Fort Sumter, 1439—The Secessionists foiled, 1441—Floyd succeeded by Holt, 1441.	
CHAPTER CXII.,	1442
Heroism of Major Anderson, p. 1442—His Wife and Peter Hart, 1442—Robbery in the Interior Department, 1443—Flight of Secretary Floyd, 1443—Cabinet Changes, 1443—South Carolina Commissioners in Washington, 1444—Attempt to reinforce and supply Fort Sumter, 1444—Inauguration of Civil War at Charleston, 1444—Language of the Politicians, 1445—The People bewildered, 1446—Fate of Leaders, 1446—"Secession" in other States, 1447—Seizure of public Property, 1448—Northern Sympathizers, 1447—Plan of the Secessionists, 1448—Dix's Order, 1448—Action in the border States, 1449—Concessions, 1449—Peace Convention, 1449—Adams's Proposition, 1449—Convention at Montgomery, 1450—Establishment of a Southern Confederate Government, 1452.	
CHAPTER CXIII.,	1454
Lunacy, p. 1454—Yielding to Necessity, 1454—Wild Dreams of the Future, 1455—Boasting, 1455—The Confederates prepare for War, 1455—Permanent Constitution adopted, 1455—Adjournment of the Montgomery Convention, 1455—Principles of the new Government expounded, 1456—Lincoln and Davis, 1456—Lincoln's Journey to the Capital, 1457—Narrative of his Escape, 1458—His Inauguration and inaugural Address, 1460—Duties of the Administration, 1461—Condition of the Army and Navy, 1462—Benton's Prophecy, 1462—Confederate Commissioners at the Capital, 1463—The Virginians, 1464—Attempt to relieve Fort Sumter and the Result, 1464.	
CHAPTER CXIV.,	1466
Virginians in Charleston, p. 1466—A Cry for Blood, 1466—Events in Charleston, 1467—Siege of Fort Sumter, 1467—Incidents of the Struggle, 1468—Evacuation of the Fort, 1469—Joyful Feelings in Charleston, 1470—Gratitude of the loyal People displayed, 1470—Honors to Major Anderson, 1470—Attempts to capture Fort Pickens, 1470—Honors to Lieutenant Slemmer, 1472—President's Call for Troops, 1473—Responses to the Call, 1473—Uprising of the loyal People, 1474—Boastings of the Northern Press, 1475—A fatal Mistake, 1476—Interpretations of Scripture, 1476—Proclamations and Counter-Proclamations, 1476—Privateering recommended to the Confederates, 1477—Action of the Confederate Congress, 1477—Privateers commissioned, 1477.	
CHAPTER CXV.,	1478
The Virginia Convention, p. 1478—Union Sentiments suppressed by Violence, 1479—Ordinance of Secession passed, 1479—Bad Faith, 1479—Virginia annexed to the Confederacy, 1479—The People disfranchised, 1480—The National Capital to be seized, 1480—Davis's Professions, 1480—Poetic Comments on them, 1481—Events at Harper's Ferry and Gosport Navy Yard, 1481—Response to the Call for Troops, 1482—Massachusetts sends Troops to Washington, 1483—Attack upon them in Baltimore, 1483—Critical Situation of	

the Capital, 1484—The President and Maryland Secessionists, 1485—Prompt and efficient Action of General Wool, 1485—Union Defence Committee, 1486—General Butler's Operations in Maryland, 1486—He takes Possession of Baltimore, 1487—Events at the Capital, 1488—Preparations for the Struggle, 1488.

CHAPTER CXVI., 1489

Defection of Colonel Lee, p. 1489—Temptation and Fall, 1490—First Invasion of Virginia, 1490—Death of Colonel Ellsworth, 1491—Blockade of the Potomac, 1492—Engagement at Sewall's Point, 1492—Loyalty in western Virginia, 1492—Action of the Secessionists, 1492—Conventions, 1492—Creation and Admission of a new State, 1493—Troops from beyond the Ohio, 1495—The first Battle on Land, 1495—Attitude of the border States, 1495—Kentucky Unionism, 1495—Events in Missouri, 1497—General Lyon, 1497—The Governor of Missouri raises the Standard of Revolt, 1498—Movements in Tennessee, 1498—Pillow and Polk, 1498—Change in the Confederate Seat of Government, 1498—Jefferson Davis in Virginia, 1498—His Reception in Richmond, 1499.

CHAPTER CXVII., 1500

Beauregard's Proclamation, p. 1500—Insurgents at Harper's Ferry, 1501—Exploits of an Indiana Regiment, 1501—Events on the Virginia Peninsula, 1501—Battle at Big Bethel, 1502—National Troops on the upper Potomac, 1503—The Capital in Danger, 1503—A gunpowder Plot, 1504—Action of England and France, 1504—*Punch's* Epigram, 1505—Conduct of Great Britain and the Western European Powers, 1505—Russia, 1507—Meeting of Congress, 1507—Department Reports, 1508—Appropriations, 1508—Increase of the Navy, 1508—Enthusiasm of the People, 1509—Women's Work, 1509—Miss Dix, 1509—United States Sanitary and Christian Commissions, 1511—Benevolent Work in Philadelphia, 1511.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PHOTOGRAVURE.

DECATUR'S FIGHT WITH THE TRIPOLITAN PIRATES—REUBEN JAMES INTERPOSING HIS HEAD TO SAVE THE LIFE OF HIS COMMANDER,	FACING PAGE Title
<i>From the Original Painting by CHAPPEL.</i>	

COLORED PLATES.

HOOKER AT CHANCELLORSVILLE,	1199
<i>From the Original Painting by H. A. OGDEN.</i>	
MEADE AT GETTYSBURG,	1372
<i>From the Original Painting by H. A. OGDEN.</i>	

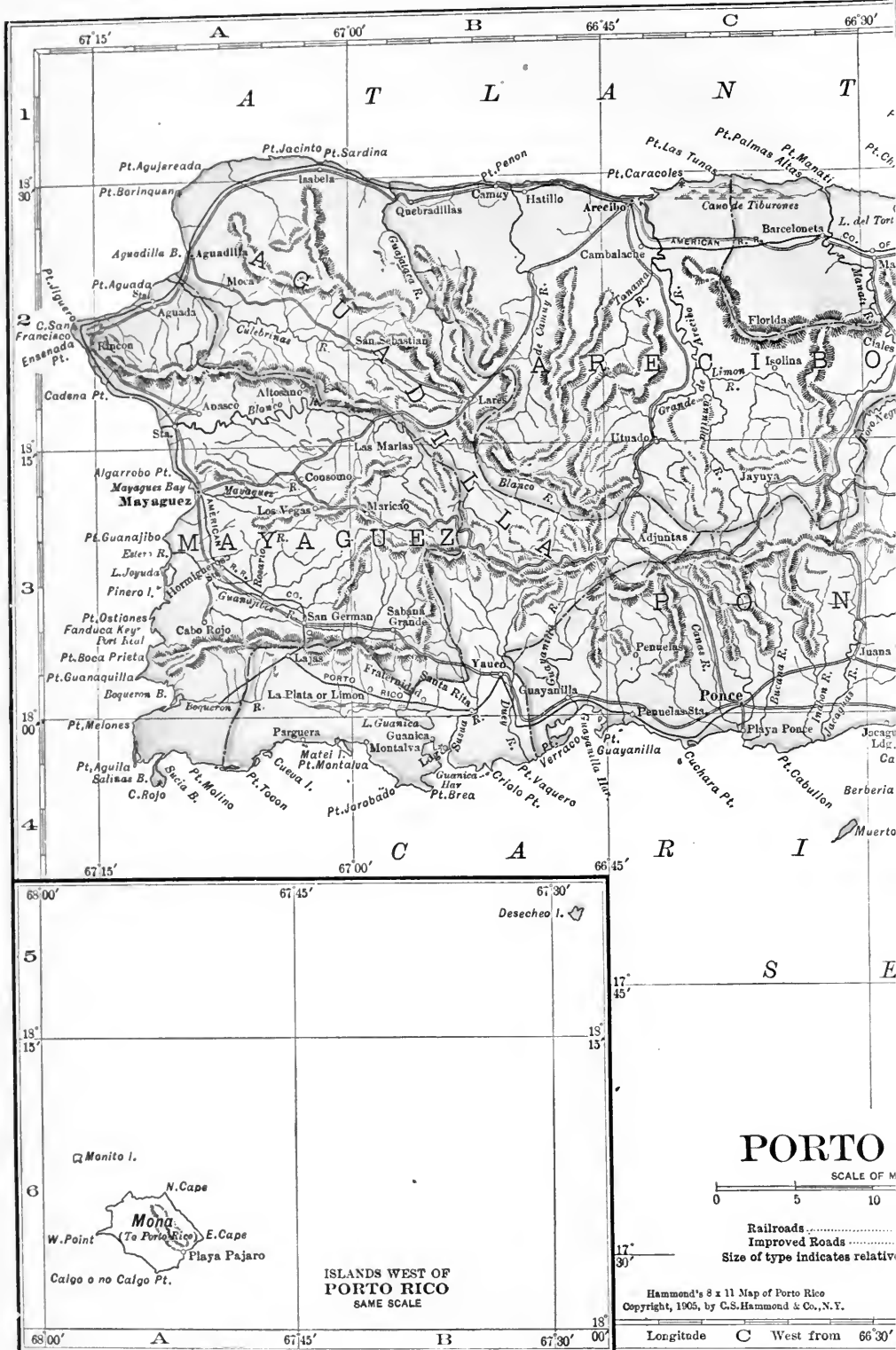
FULL-PAGE WOODCUTS AND PHOTO-ENGRAVINGS.

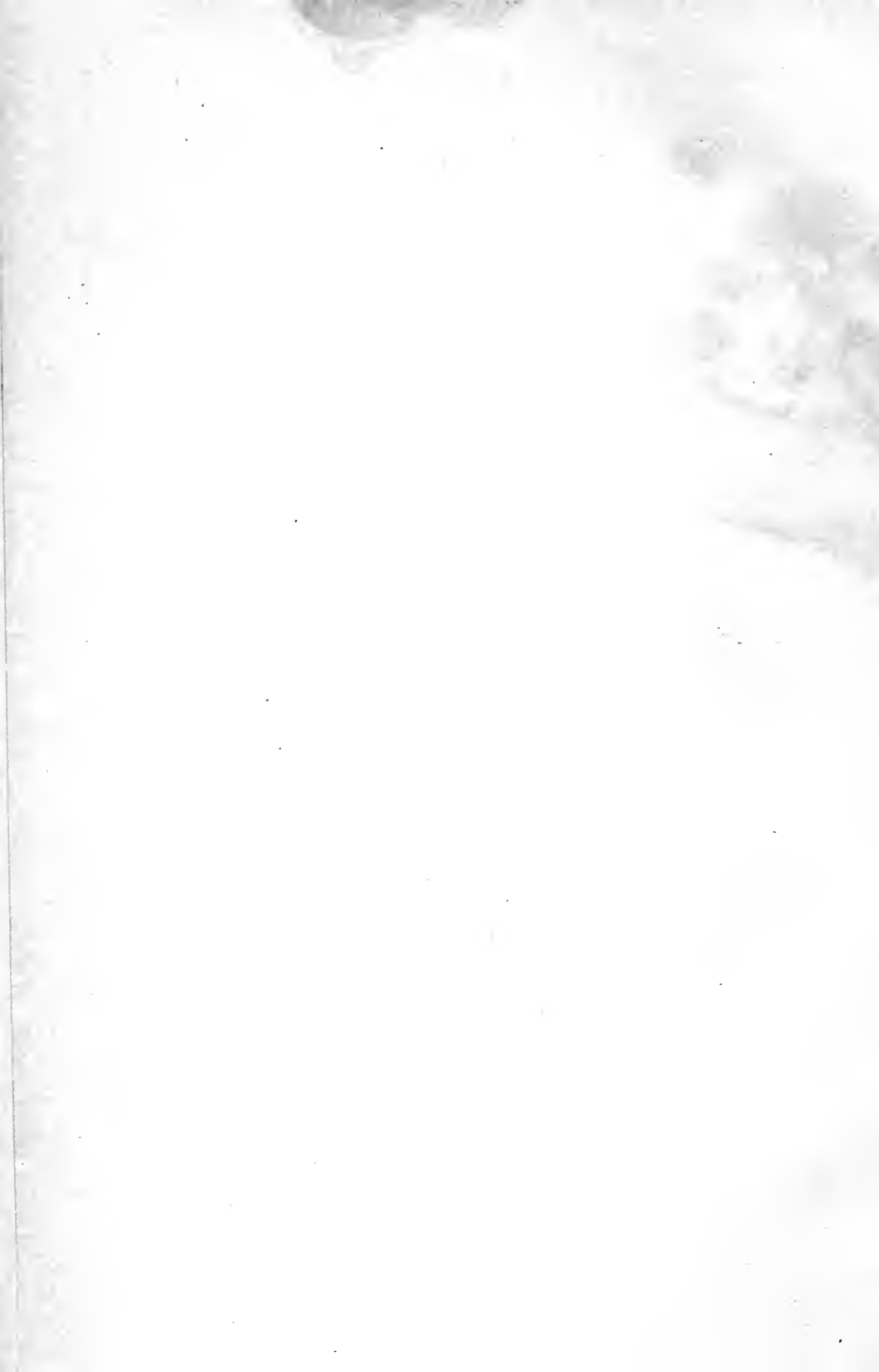
MRS. HEALD AND THE SAVAGES AT CHICAGO,	1210
<i>Drawn by FELIX O. C. DARLEY.</i>	
BRITISH REPULSED AT FORT STEPHENSON,	1238
<i>Drawn by FELIX O. C. DARLEY.</i>	
BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS—DEATH OF PAKENHAM,	1306
<i>Drawn by FELIX O. C. DARLEY.</i>	
TAKING OF MONTEREY,	1360
<i>Drawn by FELIX O. C. DARLEY.</i>	
SIEGE OF VICKSBURG,	1395
<i>From the Original Painting by CHAPPEL.</i>	
1861,	1448
<i>Drawn by FELIX O. C. DARLEY.</i>	

	FACING PAGE
ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER,	1468
<i>Drawn by FELIX O. C. DARLEY.</i>	
GEN. JOHN A. DIX,	1472
<i>From the Brady collection of Civil War Photographs.</i>	
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PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET,	1479
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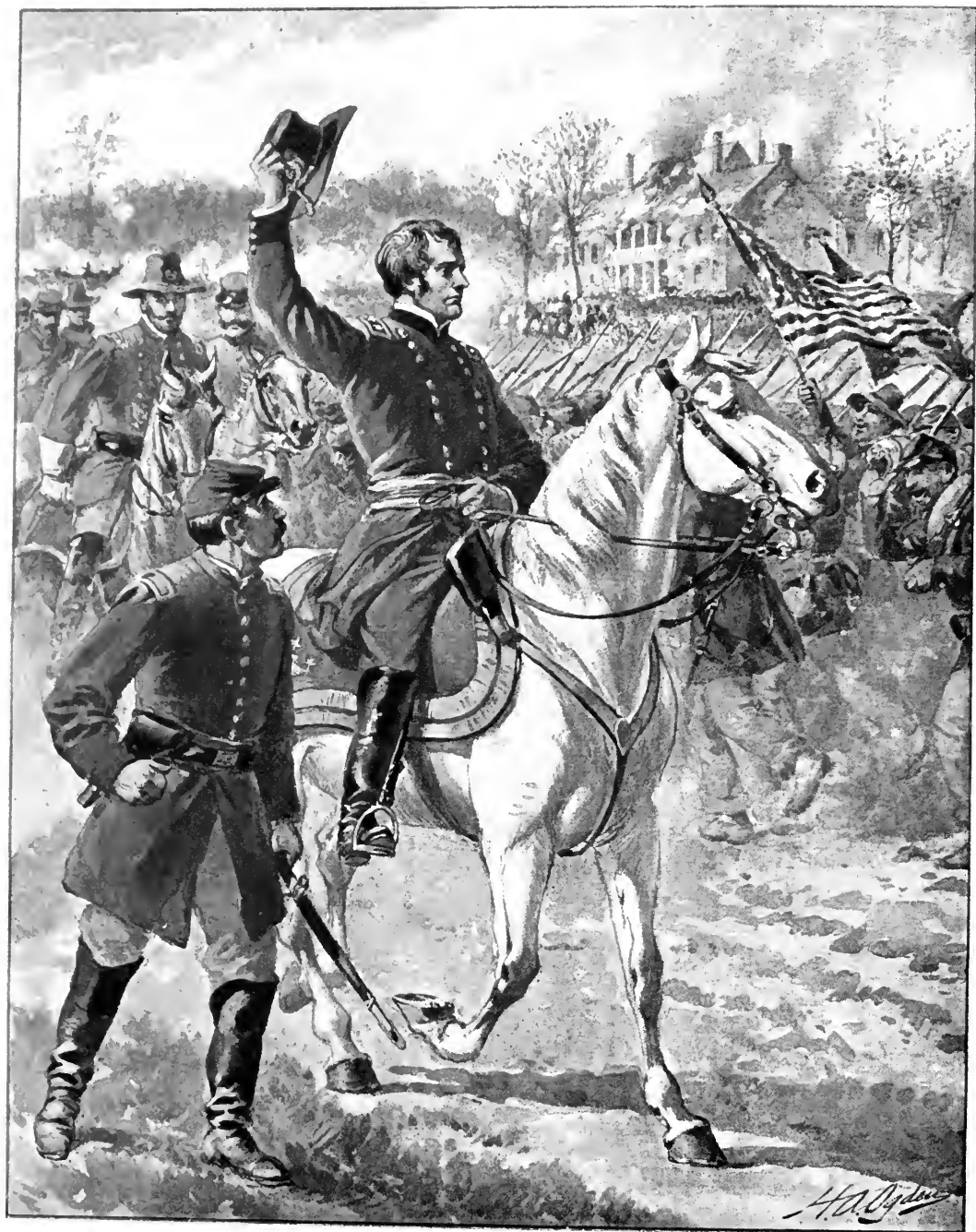
MAP.

PORTO RICO,	1198
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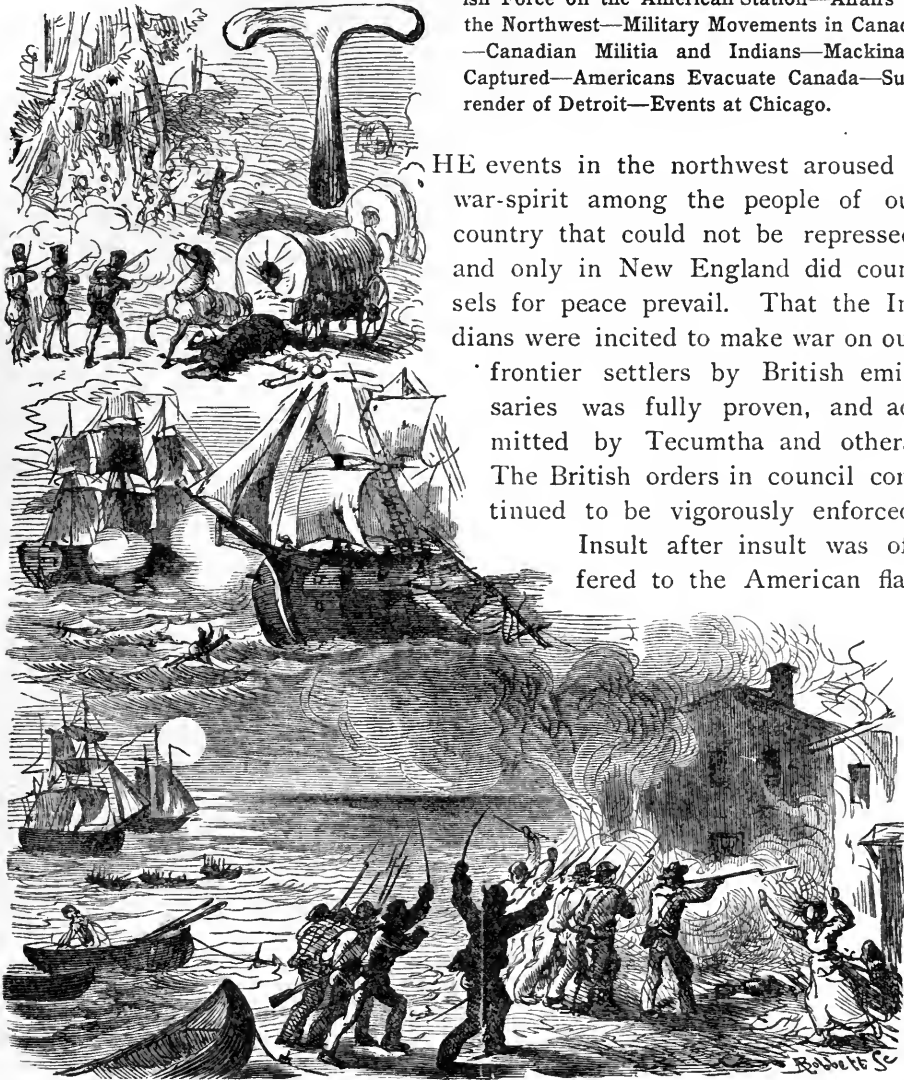
HOOVER AT THE BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE, MAY 3, 1863



CHAPTER XCIII.

Action of Committee on Foreign Relations—Preparations for War—War Declared—Appointment of General Officers—Provisions for War—A Factious Peace-Party—A Fatal Mistake—British Force on the American Station—Affairs in the Northwest—Military Movements in Canada—Canadian Militia and Indians—Mackinaw Captured—Americans Evacuate Canada—Surrender of Detroit—Events at Chicago.

THE events in the northwest aroused a war-spirit among the people of our country that could not be repressed, and only in New England did counsels for peace prevail. That the Indians were incited to make war on our frontier settlers by British emissaries was fully proven, and admitted by Tecumtha and others. The British orders in council continued to be vigorously enforced. Insult after insult was offered to the American flag



by British cruisers; and the press of Great Britain insolently declared that the Americans "could not be kicked into a war."

Forbearance became no longer a virtue. It seemed like cowardice. The timid President Madison, finding himself the standard-bearer of his party, and like a cautious sachem surrounded by irrepressible young warriors eager for fight, felt compelled to sound a war-trumpet, though a feeble one, in his annual message at the beginning of November, 1811. The young and ardent members of the House of Representatives, who had elected Henry Clay, then thirty-four years of age, Speaker, determined that indecision should no longer mark the councils of the nation. The Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Peter B. Porter was chairman, intensified that feeling by an energetic report submitted on the 29th of November, in which, in glowing sentences, the British government was arraigned on charges of injustice, cruelty, and wrong. They said: "To sum up, in a word, the great cause of complaint against Great Britain, your committee need only say, that the United States, as a sovereign and independent power, claims the right to use the ocean, which is the common and acknowledged highway of nations, for the purposes of transporting, in their own vessels, the products of their own soils and the acquisitions of their own industry to a market in the ports of friendly nations, and to bring home, in return, such articles as their necessities or convenience may require, always regarding the rights of belligerents as defined by the established laws of nations. Great Britain, in defiance of this incontestable right, captures every American vessel bound to or returning from a port where her commerce is not favored; enslaves our seamen, and, in spite of our remonstrances, perseveres in these aggressions. To wrongs so daring in character and disgraceful in their execution, it is impossible that the people of the United States should remain indifferent. We must now tamely and quietly submit, or we must resist by those means which God has placed within our reach. . . . The sovereignty and independence of these States, purchased and sanctified by the blood of our fathers, from whom we received them, not for ourselves only, but as the inheritance of our posterity are deliberately and systematically violated. And the period has arrived when, in the opinion of your committee, it is the sacred duty of Congress to call forth the patriotism and the resources of the country. By the aid of these, and with the blessing of God, we confidently trust we shall be able to procure that redress which has been sought for by justice, by remonstrance and forbearance, in vain."

The report went over the land as rapidly as the mails of that day, in the absence of railroads, could then carry it, and made a profound impression upon the public mind. Resolutions, drawn in accordance with the spirit

of the report, were appended to it, and these elicited earnest debates. In these debates, John C. Calhoun, then less than thirty years of age, warmly engaged. It was the beginning of his long and remarkable public career. He made his maiden speech in favor of war, and charmed his listeners. John Randolph, always happy when in opposition to everybody, spoke vehemently against them. The Federalists, whose policy had always been to be prepared for war, said very little, for the resolutions recommended only such preparation. They were adopted, and bills were speedily prepared and passed for augmenting the military force of the country. Additional regulars, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, were authorized; also two major-generals and five brigadier-generals, in addition to those then in office. A million of dollars were appropriated for the purchase of arms, ammunition and stores for the army, and four hundred thousand dollars for powder, cannon, and small-arms for the navy. There was also provision made for volunteers; the whole number of the latter, with the regulars, swelling the army, in prospective, from about three thousand men of the peace establishment, to more than seventy thousand. The President was authorized to call upon the governors of States to furnish each his respective quota of one hundred thousand militia, to be held in readiness for instant service when called upon. The navy was neglected, and very little was done to increase its efficiency. It, however, weak and scorned as it was, proved to be the strong right-arm of the nation, in winning the greatest glory in the conflict that ensued.

The State legislatures generally spoke in favor of war; but the timid President, influenced by his own convictions and the opinions of his cabinet, still hesitated. Finally a committee of Democratic members waited on Mr. Madison and told him plainly, in substance, that the supporters of his administration had determined upon a war with Great Britain; that the people were impatient of delay; and that unless a declaration of war should soon be made, his renomination and re-election to the Presidency would probably not be accomplished. The President consented to yield his own convictions to the will of his political friends. Accordingly, on the first of April, 1812, he sent a confidential message to Congress, proposing as a measure preliminary to a declaration of war, the passage of a law laying an embargo upon all commerce with the United States for the space of sixty days. This was done on the 4th of April. Four days afterward, Louisiana was admitted into the Union as a State.

At the end of sixty days the President sent a message to Congress in which he reviewed the difficulties with Great Britain, portrayed the aggressions of that power, and intimated the necessity of war for the maintenance

of the honor and dignity of the republic. It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, when a majority of them—John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, John Smillie of Pennsylvania, John A. Harper of New Hampshire, Joseph Desha of Kentucky, and Ebenezer Seaver of Massachusetts—reported (June 3) a manifesto as the basis of a declaration of war. On the next day, a bill to that effect, drawn by Attorney-General Pinckney, in the following form, was adopted and presented by Mr. Calhoun :

“That war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their Territories; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof.”

During these proceedings Congress sat with closed doors. The bill passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 79 to 49, and the Senate by 19 to 13. It immediately became a law by receiving the signature of the President. Two days afterward—the 19th of June, 1812—Mr. Madison issued a proclamation in which he formally declared war against the offending government and people. The conflict that ensued is known in history as the *War of 1812*, and may properly be regarded as our *Second War for Independence*, for until the end of that contest the United States were only nominally free. The people, blessed with prosperity and happy in the pursuit of the arts of peace, dreaded war, and submitted to many acts of oppression and insult from Great Britain and France, rather than appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. Commercially, and in a great degree socially, the people of the United States were dependent upon Europe, and especially upon England; and the latter was, at that time, rapidly acquiring a dangerous political interest here. The war began in 1775, was really only the first great step toward independence; the war begun in 1812, first thoroughly accomplished it. The chief causes for declaring war were the impressment of American seamen by the British; the blockade of French ports without adequate force to sustain the act; the orders in councils, and the incitement of the savages to hostilities.

Congress took measures immediately to sustain the declaration of war. They authorized the President to enlist 25,000 men for the regular army; accept 50,000 volunteers, and call out 100,000 militia for the defence of the

sea-coasts. They also appropriated about \$3,000,000 for the navy. But at the very outset the government encountered open and secret, manly and cowardly, opposition. The Federalists in Congress, who had opposed the war-scheme of the administration from the beginning, published an address to their constituents in which they set forth the state of the country at that time, the course of the administration and its supporters in Congress, and the reasons of the minority for opposing the war. This was fair and honorable. But outside of Congress there was a party of politicians, composed



AN AMERICAN SEAMAN FORCIBLY IMPRESSED.

of Federalists and disaffected Democrats, organized under the name of the *Peace Party*, whose object was to cast obstructions in the way of the prosecution of the war, and to compel the government, by weakening its resources and embarrassing its operations, to make peace. They tried to derange the public finances, discredit the faith of the government, prevent enlistments, and in every way to cripple the administration and bring it into discredit with the people. It was an unpatriotic and mischievous faction; and the leaders of the Federalists, like Mr. Quincy and Mr. Emott, who, when the war began, lent their aid to the government in its extremity, frowned upon these real enemies of their country. But the machinations of the Peace Party continued until the close of the war, and did infinite mischief unmingled with any good.

At that time there were very few men in our country thoroughly trained in the art of war; for the Military Academy at West Point, as it now exists,

was then in its infancy. A school to be established there had been authorized only ten years before. The elder leading officers of the Continental Army were in their graves, and the younger ones were far advanced in life; yet to the latter, alone, the government felt compelled to look for its military leaders. Henry Dearborn, who had been a meritorious New Hampshire colonel in the Continental Army, was commissioned major-general and commander-in-chief. His principal brigadiers were James Wilkinson, who was on the staff of General Gates in the conflicts near Saratoga; Wade Hampton, who had done good partisan service with Marion, Sumter, and others in South Carolina; William Hull, who had served as colonel in the old war for independence; and Joseph Bloomfield, who had been a captain in the New Jersey line.

Hull was, at that time, governor of the Territory of Michigan. The administration party, satisfied that our navy could not cope with that of the British on the ocean, based their hopes for success largely upon the supposed dissatisfaction with imperial rule, of the inhabitants of the Canadas and other British colonial possessions on our borders, who, they believed, would flock to the American standard when it should appear upon their soil. This was the fatal mistake made in 1775. Our people had not profited by the sad experience of the campaign into Canada that year; and our government resolved to begin the war by an invasion of the western portion of the Upper Province by American troops. Canada was then divided into Upper and Lower Provinces, the former extending westward from Montreal along the shores of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, to Lake Huron and the Detroit River. It included about one hundred thousand inhabitants, who were principally of the families of American Loyalists who had been compelled to abandon their homes in the States at the close of the war for independence, and had experienced the fostering care and kindness of the British government. Their loyalty was stimulated by the recollections of that kindness and by lingering resentments; and they were the last people to count upon as allies of those whom they had been taught, many of them by great suffering, to regard as enemies. This fact does not seem to have been taken into account by the administration.

When war was declared, George, Prince of Wales, was really monarch of Great Britain, for the court physicians had pronounced his father, George the Third, to be hopelessly insane. Great Britain was then waging a tremendous war against the Emperor Napoleon. Wellington was in command of the British forces on the Spanish peninsula, and Great Britain had just formed an alliance with Russia against the ambitious Corsican. Her naval armament on the American station—Halifax, Newfoundland, Jamaica, and

the Leeward Islands—then consisted of five ships-of-the-line, nineteen frigates, forty-one brigs and sixteen schooners, and some armed vessels on Lakes Ontario and Erie, with several others a-building. The British land force in Upper Canada did not exceed fifteen hundred men; the aggregate in the two provinces and the British domain on the east was about six thousand. The number of the militia of all the British-American provinces was estimated at forty thousand. They had an assailable frontier of full seventeen hundred miles.

Governor Hull, while in Washington city in the winter of 1812, heard proposals for the invasion of Western Canada. He told the President that success in such a movement might be hoped for, only by having armed vessels on Lake Erie and a competent military force in the northwest as a protection against the hostile savages over whom the British had almost unbounded control. These were showing promises of active warfare in the spring, and Governor Meigs, of Ohio, had summoned the militia of that State to rendezvous at Dayton, to meet the impending danger. Hull accepted the commission of brigadier, that he might lead the troops in defence of the people on the frontiers; and late in May he arrived at Dayton and took command of them. Surrounded by his staff and Colonels Duncan McArthur, James Findlay, and Lewis Cass, in the presence of Governor Meigs and his council, Hull made a stirring speech to the troops, and then marched with them for Detroit, through the almost trackless wilderness. While on his march with about two thousand men, he was informed of the declaration of war, not, however, before the news had reached the British posts in Canada, and his little army was placed in imminent peril. The government then gave him discretionary power for invading Canada.

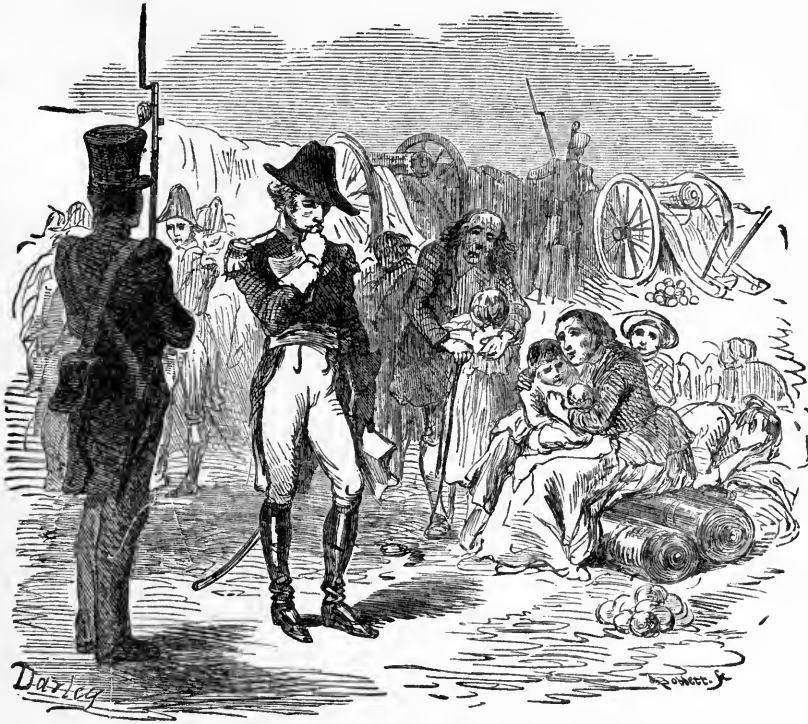
General Sir Isaac Brock was then acting lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and commander-in-chief of the military forces of the provinces. He was a vigilant and energetic leader, and by his activity saved the province from disastrous invasion. Early in July, Hull felt strong enough to invade Canada, and on the 12th he crossed the Detroit River with his whole force, and encamped at Sandwich, preparatory to an attack on Fort Malden, near present Amherstburg. A British force, who were erecting a fort at Sandwich that would command that at Detroit, had, through misapprehension, withdrawn on the night of the 11th to defend Fort Malden, and the armies landed without opposition. Hull issued a stirring proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada, threatening death to all who should be found fighting by the side of Indians (then gathering under Tecumtha at Malden), and offering security to the property and persons of those who should remain at home. This proclamation and the invasion produced great

despondency throughout the province, but Brock's energetic measures soon created hope and courage in the public mind and heart. He sent General Proctor to take command at Fort Malden, and establishing his own headquarters at Fort George, near the mouth of the Niagara River, he summoned the militia of the peninsula between Lakes Ontario and Erie to his standard. Eight hundred responded with alacrity; and John Brant, a son of the great Mohawk chief, came with one hundred Indian warriors from the Grand River, and offered their services to Brock. Young Brant was a splendid specimen of a man, as he appeared before the British commander on that occasion. He was dressed in the white man's costume, with a large silver medal suspended upon his breast, and his head crowned with an enormous pile of white ostrich plumes.

Hull was exceedingly cautious, for he had no reliable information concerning the strength of the garrison at Fort Malden, or the movements of the British and Indians at the northward. He hesitated to move forward. His young officers, such as McArthur, Cass and others, became very impatient, and showed a mutinous spirit. By this delay in going forward, the opportunity to capture that post Malden was lost, for it was strongly reinforced by British and Indians. Meanwhile positive information came of a startling character, from the mysterious region of the upper lakes. Upon the Island of Mackinaw, a limestone rock in the bosom of the clear waters of the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, the Americans had a small fort, garrisoned by fifty-seven men under Lieutenant Hancks. The British had a fort some distance off commanded by Captain Roberts, who, informed of the declaration of war, left his post with a flotilla of boats, bateaux and Indian canoes, freighted with about three hundred regulars and Canadian militia and over seven hundred savages, and appeared before the fort on Mackinaw, on the morning of the 17th of July. Captain Roberts demanded the instant surrender of the fort, and Lieutenant Hancks, yielding to superior force, gave up the important post to the British.

With news of this disaster came information that Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, on the western shore of Lake Michigan, was invested by Indians. This was followed by news that British and barbarians were making their way from the head of Lake Ontario toward Detroit. The prospect presented to Hull, who knew the condition of affairs around him better than any one else, was truly appalling; and when, on the 5th of August, Major Van Horne, who had been sent down the west side of the Detroit River to escort a party approaching from Ohio with supplies for the army, was attacked by British and Indians, and after a sharp fight was defeated, the cautious commander gave orders for the invading army to recross the river and take post

behind Fort Detroit. This order surprised and disappointed the army, and drew from some of the young officers very harsh remarks concerning the imbecility and even treachery of General Hull. Sullenly that army crossed the river, and on the morning of the 8th of August it was encamped under



HULL IN FORT DETROIT.

the shelter of Fort Detroit. On the same day Colonel Miller and **several** hundred men were sent to accomplish what Van Horne had failed to do. They met and defeated Indians (under Tecumtha) and a small British force, near the scene of Van Horne's disaster, and were about to press forward to meet the supply party and escort them to camp, when the commander-in-chief recalled them.

General Brock had joined Proctor at Malden, where he held a conference with Tecumtha and his thousand followers on the morning of the 14th of August. His troops took possession of Sandwich, and constructed a battery there that commanded Fort Detroit and the town. At a little past noon on

the 15th he sent a note to Hull demanding the instant surrender of the post. It conveyed a covert threat that in case of refusal and its ultimate capture, the blood-thirsty savages would be let loose upon the inhabitants and the garrison. Hull was perplexed. The fort was thronged with trembling women and children, and decrepit old men who had fled to it for protection from the savages. For full two hours he kept the flag waiting while considering what he should do. His whole effective force there did not exceed a thousand men—too few to withstand the enemy in open battle, but sufficient, his officers thought, to endure a long siege, for there was an ample store of provisions. They urged him to stand firm. His pride of character and his patriotism bade him fight; his prudence and humanity bade him surrender. His officers clamored for an opportunity to show their prowess and skill, and he sent the flag back with a refusal to surrender.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the battery of five guns at Sandwich opened a cannonade and bombardment upon the fort and town, which was kept up until near midnight, and in the morning twilight of the 16th—a calm and beautiful Sabbath morning—a large body of the British and Indians crossed the river below Detroit, and soon afterward marched upon the town and fort. Soldiers outside of the fort waited impatiently for orders to fire upon the approaching foe, confident that they could repulse the invaders. They received, instead, orders to retreat into the fort. It was obeyed with reluctance; and the place was crowded to excess with exasperated men, who gave vent to their feelings in loud expressions of indignation and distrust of their commander. Some of them were mutinous at first, but were restrained by more prudent officers.

In the midst of this excitement, a cannon-ball came bounding over the wall of the fort from the Canada shore, spreading death in its path. A group standing by the door of the officers' quarters were almost annihilated. Many women and children were in the house where the officers were slain; among them General Hull's daughter and her little children. Some of the women, made senseless by fright, were carried to the bomb-proof vault for safety. The general saw the effects of the ball from a distance, and did not know but his own child was among the slain. He paced the parade backward and forward with great agitation of mind, until informed that the enemy were preparing to storm the fort; then he directed his son, Captain Hull, to hoist a white flag over the wall in token of surrender. The firing ceased, terms of capitulation were soon agreed upon; and at noon the same day, the surrender was completed.

In less than two months after the declaration of war, a strong military post, a spirited army of about two thousand men, and a magnificent territory

with all its inhabitants, were given up to the British. Hull had not asked the advice of a single man concerning a surrender, but took the whole responsibility upon his own shoulders, and bore the heavy load nearly all his life afterward. His young officers made serious charges against him. He was accused of treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty. A court-martial sentenced him to be shot, but the President of the Republic pardoned him. Truth and justice have since vindicated his character. To the neglect and



MRS. HEALD DEFENDING HERSELF.

inefficiency of his superiors—the Secretary of War and the commander-in-chief—was due chiefly the great disaster. The blundering administration—blundering in ignorance—made him a scapegoat to bear away the sins of others—a conductor to avert from their own heads the lightning of the people's wrath. The verdict of impartial history to-day acquits General Hull of all wrong in the surrender of Detroit, unless it be wrong to allow humanity to overbear expediency.

We have observed that Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, was invested by savages at the time of the trouble at Detroit. On the site of that marvelous inland city of over three hundred thousand inhabitants were then only the fort, the dwelling of Mr. Kinzie, a trader, and the huts of a few settlers. The

garrison was commanded by Captain N. Heald, assisted by Lieutenant Helm; and the young wives of both officers were inmates of the fort. The garrison and the family of Mr. Kinzie, the trader, were on friendly terms with the surrounding Indians until the spring of 1812, when the hostile feelings created by British emissaries were first made slightly manifest. One day a chief, at the fort, seeing the two young women playing at battledore, said to the interpreter: "The white chiefs' wives are amusing themselves very much; it will not be long before they will be living in our cornfields." The terrible significance of these mysterious words was made apparent a few weeks afterward.

Early in April a scalping party of Winnebagoes made a raid upon a settlement near Chicago. The inhabitants near Fort Dearborn took refuge with its garrison, and saw with anxiety the continual gathering of the Indians in the neighborhood during the summer. Finally, on the 7th of August, a friendly Pottawatomie chief arrived with a letter for Captain Heald from General Hull, telling the former of the declaration of war and the fall of Mackinaw, and ordering him, if possible, to evacuate Fort Dearborn and distribute all the United States property there among the Indians, to conciliate them. Heald was advised by the friendly Indian and by Kinzie, who knew the savage character well, not to let them know his intention to evacuate the fort by making the distribution. "Leave the fort," said the chief, "and let them distribute the property themselves; while they are doing this, you and the white people may reach Fort Wayne in safety."

Heald, contrary to the advice of everybody, resolved to obey his orders strictly. He called a council of the Indians on the 12th, and told them to come the next day and receive the property. He had such confidence in the sincerity of their professions of friendship, notwithstanding repeated warnings to beware of treachery, that he accepted their offer to escort the white people through the wilderness to Fort Wayne. That very night Black Partridge, a friendly chief, delivered to Heald a medal which had been given him by the Americans, saying he could not restrain his young men who were resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the white people, and he would no longer wear that token of friendship. The warning was unheeded. The goods were distributed the next day; and that evening the Black Partridge said to the interpreter: "Linden birds have been singing in my ears to-day; be careful on the march you are going to take." This warning, too, was unheeded.

On the morning of the 15th, the evacuation of the fort took place. There were positive indications that the savages intended to massacre the white people. When the gate of the fort was thrown open and the procession moved, it



MRS. HEALD AND THE SAVAGES AT CHICAGO

was like a funeral march. The band struck up the Dead March in Saul. The wives of Heald and Helm rode by the side of their husbands. Mrs. Heald, who was a good shot, was well armed with a rifle. They had not gone far when the savage escort, five hundred strong, fell upon them. A sharp and bloody conflict ensued. Rebecca Heald deported herself bravely. She received several wounds, but, though bleeding and faint, she kept her saddle.



MRS. HELM CARRIED TO THE LAKE.

A savage raised his tomahawk to slay her, when she said, in a sweet voice in his own language, and with a half smile, "Surely you will not kill a squaw!" The appeal was effectual, and she lived until the year 1860. A stalwart young savage attempted to tomahawk Mrs. Helm, who was dismounted. She sprang to one side, received the blow on her shoulder, and at the same instant seized the savage around his neck, and endeavored to get hold of his

scalping-knife. While thus struggling, she was dragged from her antagonist by another Indian, who bore her to the shore of the lake and plunged her in, at the same time preserving her from drowning. The friendly hand that saved her, was that of the good Black Partridge. There were other cases of the grand heroism of women displayed on that bloody field. Meanwhile Heald had made terms for surrender, and the contest ended. The prisoners were distributed among their captors, and were finally reunited or restored to their friends or families. In this affair, twelve children, all the masculine civilians excepting Mr. Kinzie and his sons, and twenty-six private soldiers, were murdered. The fort was burned the next morning by the Indians.

On the spot where only several generations ago this fearful tragedy was enacted, there now stands a mighty city, whose growth and expansion are one of the marvels of our national progress and activity. From this great heart of life more than a hundred arteries spread themselves over the wide country, carrying tokens of her power and resource to every corner of our continent. The railroads which connect there represent 162,000 miles of track, and its wealth is boundless. Standing, as it does, between the eastern half of our nation and the great west beyond, it unites the two, and, in becoming the great half-way house, has made itself necessary to the country stretching from the Atlantic and to the broad territory extending eastward from the Pacific shore. Fifty years ago a traveller returning to Vincennes, Ill., described Chicago as a beautiful and quiet village. To-day it is the home of two million human beings.

It is the most extensive grain market in the Western hemisphere. Its annual shipments are more than three hundred and twenty million of bushels, and yearly its commerce has reached in value to \$907,000,000.



CHAPTER XCIV.

Unfortunate Movements—New England and Great Britain—Important Resolutions and Their Effects—Patriotism of the People—A New Invasion of Canada Contemplated—Gathering of the New York Militia—The British on the Alert—Control of the Lakes Sought—An Armistice and Its Effects—Troops on the Niagara Frontier—Battle at Queenstown—Bravery of Wool and Death of Brock—Influence of Scott—Cowardice of the Militia—Surrender of the Americans—The Military Situation—American Naval Victories Achieved by Hull, Jones, Porter, Decatur, and Bainbridge—Public Honors Awarded the Victors.

THE disasters on the northwestern frontier at the very beginning of the war and the evident intention of the British to make the savages of the forest their allies in the prosecution of it, caused widespread alarm and indignation; while the opponents of the administration unpatriotically took advantage of the confusion in the public mind to cast obstacles in the way of the government in carrying on the war. The governor of Massachusetts (Caleb Strong), of New Hampshire (William Plumer), and of Connecticut (Roger Griswold), refused to allow the militia of their respective States to march to the northern frontier on the requisition of the President of the United States. They justified their course with the plea that such a requisition was unconstitutional and that the war was unnecessary. The British, meanwhile, had declared the whole American coast in a state of blockade, excepting that of the New England States.

These events justified a suspicion that prevailed for awhile that the New England States were ready and willing to leave the Union, and become a part of the British empire—a suspicion that had been created by revelations made to the President several months before, by an Irishman named John Henry, who had lived in Canada for several years. Late on a stormy night in February, 1812, Henry went to the mansion of President Madison, bearing a letter of introduction from Elbridge Gerry, then Democratic governor of Massachusetts. He said he had some secrets to divulge that were of very great importance to the people of the United States. An interview was arranged for the next evening, when Henry declared that for full two years efforts had been in progress on the part of the British authorities in Canada, sanctioned by the home government, to effect a separation of the Eastern

States from the Union, and to attach them to Great Britain. He said that he had been employed by Sir James Craig, governor-general of Canada, in 1809, as a British spy, to visit Boston and ascertain the temper of the people of New England, who, at that time, seemed to be in a state of incipient rebellion because of the passage of the embargo act. He said that at first he was satisfied the New Englanders were ripe for revolt and separation.

Henry's performances in the matter so pleased Sir James, that he promised to give the spy lucrative employment in the Colonial government; but after waiting some time for the fulfillment of that promise, Sir James died, and Henry went to England in 1811 to seek remuneration for his services from the home government. He was petted by the cabinet for a while, and introduced into the highest circles of society. He demanded £30,000 for his great services, but offered to accept of a lucrative office in Canada. At length, wearied with his importunities, and satisfied that the disaffection in New England toward the government of the United States was not more serious than a local partisan feeling, the ministry dismissed Henry politely by referring him to Sir George Prevost, Sir James Craig's successor. The exasperated spy sailed for Boston instead of Quebec, with a determination to divulge the whole secret of British perfidy to the government of the United States, for a money consideration. He laid before the President the strong documentary evidence which clearly proved that Great Britain, while indulging in the most friendly expressions toward the United States, and negotiating treaties, was secretly engaged in efforts to destroy the young republic of the West, by fomenting disaffection toward it among a portion of the people, and intriguing with disaffected politicians with an expectation, with the aid of British arms, to be able to separate New England from the Union and reannex that territory to the British dominions. Madison was so well satisfied of the importance of Henry's disclosures, at the time when he was about to declare war against Great Britain, that he gave the spy \$50,000 out of the secret service fund at his disposal, for his documents, which consisted chiefly of the correspondence of the parties to the affair in this country and in England.

These disclosures, when made public, intensified the indignation of the Americans against Great Britain. The inhabitants of New England were annoyed by the implied disparagement of the patriotism of their section of the Union. Both parties tried to make political capital out of the affair. The Democrats vehemently reiterated the charge that the Federalists were a "British party" and "disunionists," while the Opposition declared that it was only a political trick of the administration to damage their party, insure the re-election of Madison in the autumn of 1812, and to offer an

excuse for the war. The acrimony caused by these partisan feelings was at its height when the New England governors refused to send their militia to the frontier; and the British government, in declaring the blockade of the American coast, discriminated in favor of that section. That the British, mistaking partisan feeling for unpatriotic disaffection, hoped to carry out their plan for disunion, there is no doubt; but the suspicion that the New England people contemplated disunion and annexation to the British crown, had no foundation in fact.

While New England was halting in its support of the war, the people of the other portions of the Union, especially in the region beyond the Alleghany mountains, were alive with enthusiasm in favor of prosecuting it with sharp and decisive vigor. They had suffered much from the Indians under British control, and the massacre at Chicago had kindled a flame of indignation not easily to be controlled by prudence.

The government resolved to retrieve the disaster at Detroit by an invasion of Canada on the Niagara frontier. For this purpose a requisition was made upon Governor Tompkins, of New York, for the militia of that State. He was decidedly in favor of the war. Stephen Van Rensselaer, the last of the Patroons and a patriotic Federalist retired from public life, was commissioned a major-general and placed in chief command of the militia. A desire to wipe out the disgrace of Hull's surrender, burned in the hearts of the people. The New York regiments were speedily filled, and a considerable force was soon concentrated at Lewiston, on the Niagara River; also at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain, to confront a possible counter-invasion from Canada. Another force was gathered at Greenbush, opposite Albany, where General Dearborn, the commander-in-chief, was stationed. Anticipating an invasion across the Niagara River, the British had gathered a considerable military force on that frontier; and at mid-autumn, before the Americans were prepared to cross the river, some of them occupied a strong position on Queenstown Heights, opposite Lewiston.

At midsummer, hostile demonstrations had been made on Lake Ontario and on the St. Lawrence frontier. Both parties were earnestly seeking the control of those waters, and the preparation of armed vessels on them was vigorously begun. General Bloomfield was in command of the militia in northern New York, and everything betokened warm work on the frontiers soon. At that juncture, General Dearborn concluded an armistice with the British commander in Canada, for a cessation of hostilities along the entire frontier, which he kept in force, contrary to commands from his government, until the close of August. By this armistice, Brock was enabled to concentrate a force on the Detroit River sufficient to compel Hull to sur-

render. To this fact and his neglect to inform Hull of his intentions are justly chargeable the chief cause of that general's disaster. It did more; it enabled Brock to bring his troops and prisoners to the Niagara frontier without molestation; and it so delayed preparations for war in New York, that on the first of September (1812) Van Rensselaer had at Lewiston only seven hundred men instead of five thousand, as he had been promised, though charged with the double duty of defending the frontier and invading Canada. At length regulars and militia arrived on the Niagara, and toward the middle of October, Van Rensselaer found himself in command of six thousand men, scattered along the river between Lewiston and Buffalo. He then resolved to invade Canada from Lewiston.

The night of the 12th of October was intensely dark. A heavy storm was just ending. In the gloom at three o'clock the next morning, Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, in command of six hundred men, was on the shore of the river at Lewiston, prepared to cross the swift-running stream and storm the British works on Queenstown Heights. But only thirteen boats were there to take the troops over, and in these he passed with less than one-half his force. The enemy were on the alert, and had discovered the movements of the Americans; and when Van Rensselaer landed, they assailed his little force with musketry and a small field-piece. This assault was responded to by a battery on Lewiston Heights, when the British turned and fled toward Queenstown. They were followed by regulars, under Captain John E. Wool (the senior in command in the absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Chrystie, who was in a boat that had lost its way in the darkness and did not arrive until between eight and nine o'clock), who pushed gallantly up the hill, pressed the British back to the plateau on which Queenstown stands, fought them there, and finally gained possession of Queenstown Heights. Van Rensselaer had followed with the militia, and was so severely wounded that he was compelled to relinquish the command and recross the river. A bullet had passed through the fleshy part of both of Wool's thighs, but, unmindful of his wounds, that gallant soldier would neither leave the field nor relinquish the command until the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Chrystie between eight and nine o'clock.

General Brock was at Fort George, seven miles below Queenstown, when the firing began. He hastened to the scene of action, and with his staff pressed up the Heights to a redan battery, where they dismounted. They were suddenly startled by the crack of musketry. Wool and his followers were close upon them. Brock and his aides had not time to remount, but fled down the hill, leading their horses at full gallop and followed by the dozen men who manned the battery. In a few minutes the American flag

was waving over that little work. Brock at once placed himself at the head of some troops to drive Wool from the Heights, and at first the Americans were pressed back by overwhelming numbers, to the verge of the precipice that rises from the deep chasm of the river two hundred feet below. That little band were in great peril, when Captain Ogilvie, seeing men falling around him and the danger of being hurled into the flood below, raised a white handkerchief on the point of a bayonet in token of surrender. Wool sprang forward, snatched the token of submission, addressed a few stirring



FLIGHT OF BROCK AND HIS STAFF.

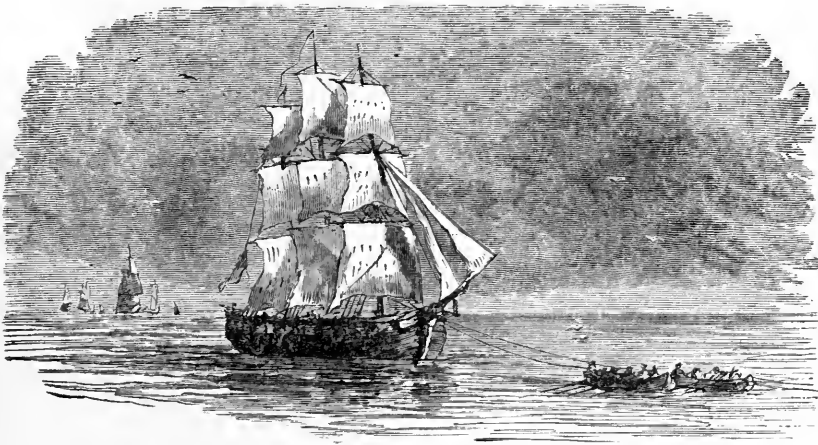
words to his men, begging them to fight as long as they had a weapon, and then waving his sword, so inspirited his comrades to a renewal of the fight that they soon made the British veterans break, and flee down the hill in confusion. These were rallied by General Brock, and were about to reascend the Heights, when their commander was mortally wounded at the foot of the declivity. After a short struggle, the British retreated a mile below Queenstown. The young commander (Wool was only twenty-four years of age), after three distinct battles, was left master of the Heights with two hundred and forty men. Not long afterward, Brigadier-General Wadsworth, of the New York militia, took the chief command.

General Sheaffe, who succeeded General Brock in command of the

British, rallied the troops. Lieutenant-Colonel (afterward Major-General) Winfield Scott, had arrived at Lewiston, and crossing the river joined the troops as a volunteer. At the request of General Wadsworth, he took active command. Early in the afternoon a cloud of dusky warriors, led by John Brandt, painted and plumed, and with gleaming tomahawks, fell upon the pickets on the American left with great fury, uttering the horrid war-whoop. The militia were about to flee, when the towering form and trumpet-toned voice of Scott, commanded their attention. He inspired the troops, now about six hundred strong, militia and regulars, to fall upon the savage assailants with a shout. The Indians turned and fled to the woods in terror. Meanwhile General Sheaffe had pressed forward, when General Van Rensselaer, who stood by the side of Scott, hastened across the river to send over reinforcements of militia. About a thousand had gone over in the morning, but few had engaged in the fight. Others now refused to go, pleading, in the language of the opponents of the war, that they were not compelled to leave the soil of their country and invade that of another. The poltroons stood idly at Lewiston, while their comrades were mown down like grass at Queenstown. Overwhelming numbers compelled the Americans to surrender, when all the prisoners were marched to Newark. There Scott had an encounter with two Indian chiefs. He met them in a hall, and was unarmed. They demanded how many bullets had passed through his clothes, as they had both fired at him repeatedly. One of the Indians attempted to turn him round rudely, when Scott thrust him away, exclaiming: "Hands off! you shot like a squaw!" Both Indians drew their knives and tomahawks, and were about to spring upon Scott, when he snatched a sword standing at the end of the hall, drew the blade from the scabbard as quick as lightning, and was about to slay his assailants, when a British officer interfered and saved them.

On that memorable day, the 13th of October, 1812, the Americans lost, in killed, wounded and prisoners, about eleven hundred men. General Van Rensselaer, disgusted with the inefficiency everywhere displayed, left the service, and was succeeded by General Alexander Smythe, of Virginia, who accomplished nothing of importance during the remainder of the season. The military situation of the Americans at the close of 1812, was this: The *Army of the Northwest*, as it had been named, first under Hull and then under General Harrison, was occupying a defensive position among the snows of the wilderness on the banks of the Maumee River; the *Army of the Centre*, under General Smythe, was resting on the defensive on the Niagara frontier; and the *Army of the North*, under General Bloomfield, was also resting on the defensive at Plattsburgh.

While military failures gave the opponents of the administration reasons for complaints and denunciations, the little American navy, so weak compared with that of the British, was winning honor for itself and the nation. Unmindful of this disparity, the Americans went boldly out upon the ocean in national and privately-armed vessels, and won victory after victory. When war was declared, Commodore Rodgers was off Sandy Hook, near New York, with a small squadron consisting of the frigates *President*, *Congress*, and *United States*, and the sloop-of-war *Hornet*. He put to sea two



ESCAPE OF THE "CONSTITUTION."

days after that declaration, in pursuit of a British squadron convoying the West India fleet of merchantmen to England. The *President* (Rodgers' flag-ship) overtook the British off Nantucket Shoals, on the 23d of June, and after a slight engagement with the *Belvidera*, and a chase of several hours, the pursuit was abandoned. The news of this affair, carried into Halifax by the *Belvidera*, produced a profound sensation there, and Rear-Admiral Sawyer sent out a squadron of war-vessels, under Captain Broke, to search for Rodgers and his frigate. Broke's flag-ship was the *Shannon*, 38. This squadron appeared near New York early in July, and captured the United States brig *Nautilus*, 14. This was the first vessel-of-war taken on either side in this contest.

The frigate *Constitution* (yet afloat), of 44-guns, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, had just returned from foreign service when war was declared, and on the 12th of July she sailed from Annapolis on a cruise to the northward. On the 17th she fell in with Broke's squadron, when one of the most

remarkable naval retreats and pursuits on record occurred. The *Constitution* was not strong enough to fight the squadron, with a hope of winning; and her safety depended upon her celerity in flight. There was almost a dead calm, and her sails flapped lazily in a zephyr-like breeze, as she floated almost independently of the helm on the slowly undulating bosom of the sea. Down went her boats with sweeps and manned by strong oarsmen. A long 18-pounder was rigged as a stern-chaser, and another of the same calibre was pointed off the forecastle. Out of her cabin-windows, where saws had made them large enough, two 24-pounders were run, and all the light cannon that would draw was set. She was just getting under headway with a gentle northwest breeze that sprung up, when the *Shannon* assailed her with shot at long range without effect. Calm and breeze succeeded each other, and sweeps and sails alternately kept the good ship moving in a manner that puzzled the pursuers.

At length the British discovered the secret power that bore the *Constitution* before them, and instantly boats with sweeps and strong men were urging onward the *Shannon*, which then slowly gained on her intended victim. The *Guerriere*, 38, Captain Dacres, another of the squadron, had joined in the chase. All day and all night the pursuit continued; and at dawn of the second day of the chase the whole British squadron were in sight, bent on capturing the American frigate. The five vessels were clouded with canvas, while expert seamanship caused the *Constitution* to make the space between her and her pursuers so wide that not a gun was fired. That afternoon she was four miles ahead of the *Belvidera*, the nearest vessel of the squadron; and at sunset a heavy squall burst in fury on the *Constitution*, but she was prepared for it. Wind, lightning, and rain made a terrible commotion on the sea, for a short time; but the gallant ship outrode the tempest, and at twilight she was flying before her pursuers at the rate of eleven knots an hour. At midnight the British fired two guns, and at dawn they gave up the chase, which had lasted sixty-four hours. The country rang with praises of Hull and the *Constitution*; and a bard of the day, singing of her exploits, said:

"Neath Hull's command, with a tough hand,
And naught beside to back her,
Upon a day, as log-books say,
A fleet bore down to whack her.

"A fleet, you know, is odds, or so,
Against a single ship, sirs;
So 'cross the tide her legs she tried,
And gave the rogues the slip, sirs."

Just after Rodgers left Sandy Hook, the *Essex*, 32, Captain David Porter, sailed from New York with a flag at her mast-head bearing the significant words: *Free Trade and Sailors' Rights*. Soon after leaving Sandy Hook, while sailing southward, the *Essex* captured several British merchant-vessels, and made trophy bonfires of them; and on the 13th of August (1812) she



O. H. PERRY.

ISAAC HULL.
JAMES LAWRENCE.

WM. BAINBRIDGE.

captured the British brig *Alert*, 18. This was the first British national vessel captured in the war. She encountered some others, when, believing himself cut off from Boston and New York by a British squadron, Porter ran the *Essex* into the Delaware.

The *Constitution* did not long remain idle after her remarkable escape. She sailed from Boston (where she was built) on the 2d of August, and cruised eastward in search of British vessels. Hull was anxious to meet the *Guerriere*, whose commander had boastfully enjoined the Americans to remember that she was not the *Little Belt*. Hull sailed as far as the Bay of

Fundy, and then cruised eastward of Nova Scotia, where he captured some British merchant-vessels making their way to the St. Lawrence. On the afternoon of the 19th of August, he fell in with the *Guerriere*, in latitude $41^{\circ} 46'$, and longitude $55^{\circ} 48'$. Some firing began at long range; but at six o'clock, Hull, observing a willingness of his antagonist to have a fair yard-arm and yard-arm fight, pressed all sail on the *Constitution* to get alongside of the *Guerriere*. He walked the quarter-deck, watching the movements of the enemy with keen interest. He was fat, and wore very tight white breeches. When the *Guerriere* began to pour shot into the *Constitution*, Lieutenant Morris, Hull's second in command, asked, "Shall I open fire?" The commander replied quietly, "Not yet." As the shots began to tell seriously on the *Constitution*, the question was repeated. "Not yet," Hull quietly answered. When the two vessels were very near each other, Hull, filled with intense excitement, bent himself twice to the deck and then shouted, "Now boys, pour it into them!" The command was instantly obeyed. When the smoke of the first broadside cleared away, it was discovered that the commander, in his energetic movements, had split his breeches from waistband to knee; but he did not stop to change them during the action.

The guns of the *Constitution* were double-shotted with round and grape, and their execution was terrible. The vessels were within pistol-shot of each other. Fifteen minutes after the contest commenced, the mizzen-mast of the *Guerriere* was shot away, her main-yard was in slings, and her hull, spars, sails, and rigging were torn in pieces. Very soon, by a skillful movement, the *Constitution* fell foul of her foe, her bowsprit running into the larboard quarter of her antagonist. In that situation the cabin of the *Constitution* was set on fire by the explosion of the forward guns of the *Guerriere*, but the flames were soon extinguished. Both parties now attempted to board, while the roar of the great guns was terrific. There were fierce volleys of musketry; but the heavy sea would not allow a safe passage from one vessel to the other. At length the *Constitution* became disengaged from the *Guerriere* and shot ahead, when the main-mast of the latter, shattered into weakness, fell into the sea. The hapless vessel, shivered and shorn, rolled like a log in the trough of the waves, entirely at the mercy of the billows. A jack that had been kept flying on the stump of the mizzen-mast of the *Guerriere* was now lowered; and the late Commodore George C. Read, then third lieutenant, was sent on board of her. "Captain Hull's compliments," said Read to Captain Dacres, "and wishes to know if you have struck your flag?" Dacres, who was a "jolly tar," looking up and down, coolly and dryly said: "Well, I don't know; our mizzen-mast is

gone, our main-mast is gone, and, upon the whole, you may say we *have* struck our flag." The *Guerriere* was too much damaged to be saved. So, after removing her people and their effects to the *Constitution*, she was set on fire and soon blew up. So ended the career of the vessel that was "not the *Little Belt*." A rhymer at the time wrote:

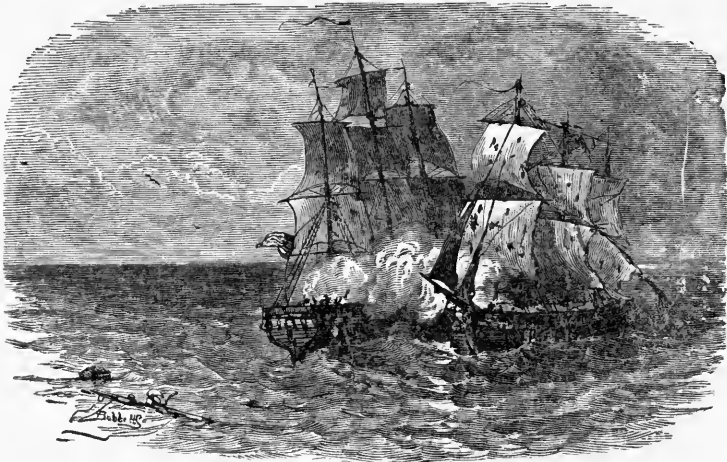
Isaac did so maul and rake her,
That the decks of Captain Dacre
Were in such a woful pickle
As if death, with scythe and sickle,
With his sling or with his shaft,
Had cut his harvest fore and aft.
Thus in thirty minutes ended
Mischief that could not be mended ;
Masts and yards, and ship descended
All to David Jones' locker—
Such a ship in such a pucker !

The *Constitution* bore the news of her own victory into Boston. There was a burst of joy over the land. The name of Hull was soon upon every lip. The people of Boston gave him and his officers a sumptuous public banquet, at which six hundred citizens sat. The authorities of New York voted him the freedom of that city in a gold box. The citizens of Philadelphia presented to him an elegant piece of plate; and Congress awarded him a gold medal, and appropriated \$50,000 to be distributed as prize-money among the officers and crew of the *Constitution*. We cannot now appreciate the feeling which the victory created on both sides of the Atlantic. The British public were amazed. Their faith in the impregnability of the "wooden walls of Old England" began to waver. Its momentous bearing on the future of the war was incalculable. The Americans, no longer impressed with the idea of the omnipotence of the British navy, were stimulated to the performance of great achievements. The *London Times* regarded the victory as a serious blow at the British supremacy on the sea. "It is not merely that one English frigate has been taken," said that journal, "but that it has been taken by a *new enemy*, an enemy *unaccustomed* to such triumphs, and likely to be rendered *insolent* and confident by them."

The victory of the *Constitution* was followed by others. On the 18th of October the American sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jones, captured the British brig *Frolic*, Captain Whinyates, after a severe engagement of forty-five minutes, off the coast of North Carolina. The slaughter on board the *Frolic* was fearful. Only three officers and one seaman remained unhurt. Ninety were killed and wounded, while only ten were slain or disabled on board the *Wasp*. But she enjoyed her victory a very short time; for

that very afternoon, the British 74-gun ship *Poicters*, Captain Beresford, appeared, and two hours after the gallant Jones had gained his triumph, he was compelled to surrender his prize and his own ship to another of superior force. Jones was honored for his bravery, by public entertainments, and Congress gave him a gold medal. They also voted \$25,000 as prize-money for himself and his followers. Lieutenant Biddle, his second in command, was also honored with gifts and promotion.

A week after Jones' contest, the frigate *United States*, 44, Captain Stephen Decatur, of the squadron of Commodore Rodgers, gained an important naval victory after a conflict of about two hours on the ocean



CONFLICT BETWEEN THE "UNITED STATES" AND "MACEDONIAN."

westward of the Canary Islands. The vessel captured by the *United States* was the British frigate *Macedonian*, 38, Captain Carden. After a cannonade at a distance for about half an hour, they engaged in close contest. The *United States* displayed splendid gunnery. Very soon her balls cut the mizzen-mast of her antagonist, and it fell overboard. Soon afterward the main-yard of the *Macedonian* was seen hanging in two pieces, her main and fore top-masts were gone, her fore-mast was tottering, and her main-mast and bow-sprit were severely bruised. All this while the *United States* remained almost unhurt. Seeing the hopelessly crippled condition of his vessel, Carden surrendered her. She had received one hundred round shot in her hull, many of them between wind and water. Rigging her as a bark, with a prize-crew on board, Decatur sailed with his own ship and her captive for American waters; and on the first day of January, 1813, the *Macedonian* was

anchored in the harbor of New York, where she was greeted with joy as a "New Year's Gift." "She comes with the compliments of the season from Old Neptune," said one of the newspapers of that city. Only three days before a public banquet had been given to Hull, Jones, and Decatur, by the corporation and citizens of New York. Decatur afterward received honors similar to those bestowed upon his brother victors, by banquets, gifts, and a gold medal from Congress.

Before the close of the year (1812) another naval victory was won that cheered the spirits of the Americans. Captain Hull had generously retired from the command of the *Constitution* after his victory, to give some brother officer a chance to win renown with her. Captain William Bainbridge was appointed his successor, and a small squadron, consisting of the *Constitution*, 44; *Essex*, 32; and *Hornet*, 18, were placed in his charge. The *Constitution* and *Hornet* were then in Boston harbor, and the *Essex* was in the Delaware. Orders were sent to the latter to cruise in the track of the English West Indiamen, and at a specified time to rendezvous at certain ports, where, if she did not fall in with the flag-ship, she would be at liberty to make an independent cruise. Not long afterward Porter was on a long cruise in the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which will be considered hereafter.

Bainbridge sailed with the two vessels from Boston, late in October, touched at the designated ports, and at the middle of December was off Bahia, Brazil. There the *Hornet* blockaded the English sloop-of-war *Bonne Citoyenne*, 18, Captain Green, which was about to sail for England with a very large amount of specie. Meanwhile the *Constitution* went on a cruise down the coast of Brazil, and on the 29th of December, when about thirty miles from land, she fell in with the British frigate *Java*, 38, Captain Lambert, one of the finest vessels of her class in the royal navy. At about two o'clock in the afternoon, they engaged in combat, which continued between two and three hours. A part of the time was consumed by efforts of each to gain an advantage of position. The *Java* tried to run down on the *Constitution's* quarter to engage in close action, but received much damage without gaining any advantage. As she turned, the *Constitution* poured a raking broadside into the stern of her enemy. This was followed by another that sent balls crashing through the *Java* with fearful effect, carrying away her jib-boom and part of her bow-sprit. Very soon the two vessels lay broadside to broadside, engaged in deadly conflict, yard-arm to yard-arm. The mizzen-mast of the *Java* soon went by the board, and nothing was left standing but her main-mast with its yard carried away. Her firing ceased, and between five and six o'clock, Captain Lambert, who was mortally wounded, ordered his colors to be hauled down. The *Java* was a wreck.

She was manned by four hundred and forty-six men and boys, and had more than one hundred passengers. After her people were all transferred to the *Constitution*, with their baggage, she was set on fire, and blew up on the 31st of December. At Bahia, Bainbridge landed and paroled his prisoners, and then sailed for the United States, where he was honored in the manner accorded to the naval heroes whose victories had lately won much glory for themselves and their country. This was the fourth brilliant victory over the British, won by the American navy in the space of five months. Praises were lavished on Bainbridge without stint. New York and Albany each gave him the freedom of the city in a gold box. The citizens of Philadelphia presented him with an elegant service of plate, and Congress voted him a gold medal, and also \$50,000 as prize-money for himself and companions. These sums were given when the prizes captured were lost at sea.

The conflict between the *Constitution* and *Java* was the closing naval engagement in the year 1812. These justified the views of the Federalists who were always in favor of a navy, and the opposition to it by the Democrats ceased. The whole American people, excepting the Peace Faction, were made jubilant; and the gloom caused by the failures of the land forces was dispelled. The British people were astounded, and their newspapers raved. A leading London journal petulantly and vulgarly gave vent to its sentiments by expressing its apprehensions that England might be stripped of her maritime supremacy "by a piece of striped bunting flying at the mast-head of a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws."

The naval triumphs of the Americans were not confined to the national vessels. Privateers swarmed on the sea in the summer and autumn of 1812, and were making prizes in every direction. Accounts of their exploits filled the newspapers, and helped to swell the tide of joy throughout the Union. It is estimated that during the year 1812 more than fifty armed British vessels and two hundred and fifty merchantmen, with an aggregate of over three thousand prisoners, and a vast amount of booty, were captured by the Americans.



CHAPTER XCV.

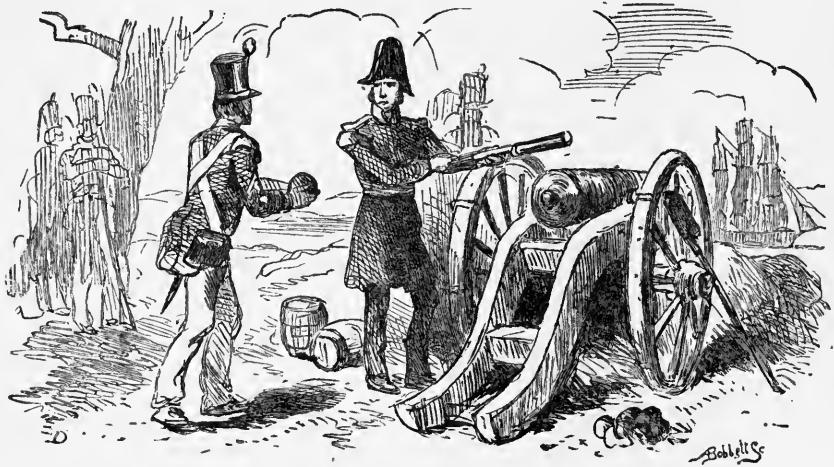
The Northern Frontier—Skirmish at Sackett's Harbor—Naval Fight on the St. Lawrence—Chauncey on Lake Ontario—Events on the St. Lawrence and Niagara Frontiers—A Conspicuous Military Failure—General Harrison in the West—Enthusiasm of the People there—Massacre at the River Raisin—Fort Meigs Built and Besieged—Bravery of Captain Combs—Dudley's Defeat—Civil Affairs Considered—Mediation of Russia Offered—Siege of Fort Stephenson—The British Repulsed—The Effects.

BUT small preparations for war had been made on the northern frontier of New York when it was declared. Brigadier-General Jacob Brown was charged with the defence of that frontier from Oswego to Lake St. Francis (an expansion of the River St. Lawrence), a distance of about two hundred miles. There was only one American war-vessel (the *Oneida*) launched in 1809, on Lake Ontario, commanded by Lieutenant Melancthon Woolsey; while the British, in anticipation of difficulties, had built at Kingston, at the foot of the lake, a small squadron of light vessels-of-war. Brown and Woolsey were authorized to defend the frontier from invasion, but not to act on the offensive except in certain emergencies.

On the 29th of July, 1812, the little British squadron, composed of the *Royal George*, 24; *Prince Regent*, 22; *Earl of Moira*, 20; *Simcoe*, 12; and *Seneca*, 4, appeared off Sackett's harbor at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The *Oneida* was in the harbor, and a considerable body of militia under Colonel Bellinger were there. The *Oneida* was laid so as to give a broadside to the approaching enemy, while an old 32-pound iron cannon, dragged up from the shore, was placed in battery on a rocky bluff in charge of Captain Vaughan, a sailing-master in the navy. A cannonade between the *Royal George* and the big guns on shore was kept up for about two hours with very little effect, when a 32-pound ball from the former came over the bluff and ploughed a furrow near where some soldiers were standing. A sergeant caught up the ball and running with it to Captain Vaughan, said, "I've been playing ball with the red-coats, and I have caught them out." Vaughan put it in his gun. It fitted better than his own balls, and he sent it crashing through the *Royal George* from stern to stem, sending splinters

as high as her mizzen top-sail yard, killing fourteen men and wounding eighteen. The squadron, alarmed, immediately sailed out of the harbor.

The command of the lakes was now an important consideration for both parties, and the Americans prepared to create a navy to cope with that of the British. The quickest way to do so was to convert merchant-schooners into vessels-of-war. Eight of these had been caught at Ogdensburg, when the declaration of war was made, and were unable to escape to the lake. Two had been burned, and six remained there. These the British deter-



SENDING BACK BRITISH BALLS.

mined to attempt to capture or destroy, and for this purpose two of their armed vessels went down the St. Lawrence immediately after the affair at Sackett's Harbor. They were followed by the American armed schooner *Julia*, with sixty volunteers from the *Oneida*, and a rifle company in a Durham boat. They overtook the British vessels among the Thousand Islands, on the 31st of July, fought them for three hours, and in the shadows of an intensely dark night, relieved occasionally by flashes of lightning, reached Ogdensburg in safety before morning. The armistice already mentioned, that followed, allowed the *Julia* and her consort and the six schooners to make their way to the lake, where the latter were converted into vessels-of-war.

At the close of August, Isaac Chauncey, one of the best practical seamen of his time, was commissioned commander-in-chief of the navy on Lakes Ontario and Erie; and the eminent ship-builder, Henry Eckford, with a

competent number of men, hastened to Sackett's Harbor to prepare a squadron for Lake Ontario. On the 8th of November, Chauncey appeared in those waters with a little fleet consisting of the armed schooners *Conquest*, *Growler*, *Pert*, *Scourge*, *Governor Tompkins*, and *Hamilton*. With these he made a cruise toward Kingston, skirmished with the enemy, and blockaded the British squadron in Kingston harbor. In this short cruise of a few days Chauncey disabled the British flag-ship *Royal George*, destroyed one armed schooner, captured three merchant-vessels, and took several prisoners. On the 12th of November, leaving vessels to blockade Kingston harbor until the ice should effectually do so, he sailed toward the western end of Lake Ontario, at the same time writing to Governor Tompkins: "I am in great hopes that I shall fall in with the *Prince Regent*, or some of the royal family which are cruising about York. Had we been one moment sooner, we could have taken every town on this lake in three weeks; but the season is now so tempestuous that I am apprehensive that we cannot do much more this winter." He returned to Sackett's Harbor, and early in December the navigation of the lake was closed by frost. Chauncey's entire squadron of eight vessels (exclusive of the *Madison*, 24, whose keel was laid before his arrival) mounted only forty guns, and were manned by four hundred and thirty men, including marines. The British squadron had double the power of that of the Americans, in weight of metal and number of men.

The land forces on the St. Lawrence frontier were not idle. Captain Benjamin Forsyth was there with a company of regular riflemen, and after performing some exploits in the vicinity of the Thousand Islands, he took post at Ogdensburg. General Brown arrived there on the 1st of October (1812), and on the same day a large flotilla of British bateaux, escorted by a gun-boat, appeared at Prescott, on the opposite side of the river. This flotilla conveyed armed men, who, on the 4th of October, attempted to cross the river and attack Ogdensburg. They were repulsed by the Americans, who, with the regulars and militia, were about fifteen hundred strong. Eighteen days afterwards, Major G. D. Young, in command of a detachment of militia (chiefly from Troy, New York, about two hundred in number and stationed at French Mills,) captured the larger portion of a British detachment at St. Regis, an Indian village, lying on the boundary line between the United States and the British dominion. The late William L. Marcy, governor of the State of New York, then a lieutenant, captured the British flag with his own hand—the first trophy of that kind taken on land in the war.

Meanwhile some stirring events had occurred on the Niagara frontier. Commodore Chauncey had sent Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliott to superintend

the construction of vessels on Lake Erie. Black Rock, near Buffalo, was chosen as the place for a navy-yard. A few days before the affair at Queens-town, two British vessels anchored under shelter of the guns of Fort Erie, opposite. Elliott determined to attempt their seizure, and at midnight on the 8th of October, he crossed the river in boats with one hundred and twenty-four armed men—landsmen and seamen—and surprised and captured them both, with all their people. The expedition was now at Buffalo and Black Rock; and when the first pistol was fired, lanterns and torches sent gleams of light across the waters from the American shore, and shouts from scores of people rang out on the night air. These noises aroused every British soldier on the Canada shore, and heavy guns were brought to bear upon the assailants. There was a fierce struggle for the possession of the two captured vessels. The *Caledonia* was secured by the Americans, and afterward did good service in Perry's fleet on Lake Erie. Her consort the *Detroit* was burned.

More than a month later, British cannon were opened from five detached batteries on the Canada shore upon Fort Niagara at the mouth of the Niagara River. From dawn until the early twilight on the 21st of November, the cannonade and bombardment were kept up, and two thousand red-hot balls, with a tempest of bombshells, were hurled upon the American works. These missiles were answered in kind. The village of Newark was set on fire several times, and the garrison at Fort George were greatly disquieted. Night ended the artillery duel. This attack aroused the pompous General Smythe, at Buffalo, to action. He made ready for invading Canada from that point, and by flaming proclamations he so advertised his intentions, that the enemy were fully prepared to meet him when he was ready to cross the river. An abortive attempt was made before daylight on the 21st of November, and another attempt was ordered to take place two days afterward. Smythe, in an order issued the day before, said: "Neither rain, snow nor frost will prevent the embarkation. . . . Yankee Doodle will be the signal to get under way. The landing will be effected in despite of cannon. . . . Hearts of War! to-morrow will be memorable in the annals of the United States!" To-morrow came, but it was memorable there only by the failure of the cowardly commander to carry out his orders. He was evidently afraid of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, who commanded a small force on the other side of the river, and the campaign ended without anything being done in the way of invasion. Smythe was dismissed from the army. In a petition to Congress to reinstate him, he asked to be permitted to "die for his country." This phrase excited much ridicule. At a public celebration of Washington's birthday at Georgetown, D. C., the

following sentiment was proposed: "General Smythe's petition to Congress to 'die for his country': May it be ordered that the prayer of said petition be granted." A wag wrote on a panel of one of the doors of the House of Representatives:

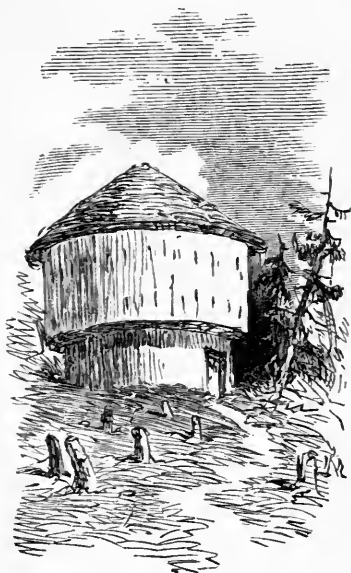
"All hail, great chief! who quailed before
A Bisshopp, on Niagara's shore;
But looks on Death with dauntless eye,
And begs for leave to bleed and die.
Oh my!"

During the fall of 1812, the whole western country, incensed by Hull's surrender and the atrocities of the savage allies of the British, seemed to be filled with men animated by a zeal like that of the old Crusaders. It was there determined that Michigan must be recovered and Indian tribes be made quiet by severe chastisement. In every settlement volunteers had gathered under local leaders. Companies were formed and equipped in a single day, and were ready to march the next. For several weeks these volunteers found employment in driving the hostile Indians from post to post in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, on the borders of the extreme western settlements. They desolated their villages and plantations after the manner of Sullivan in the Seneca country in 1779, and thereby the fiercest indignation against the white people was excited among the savages. This feeling, stimulated by the British allies of the Indians, led to some terrible results. So eager were the people of the West for conflict with the British, that the snows of winter lying in the wilderness between them and Detroit did not keep them from the field, and the campaign of 1813 opened with the year. General William Henry Harrison had succeeded General Hull in the command of the Army of the West, and General Sir George Prevost was the military successor of Brock, in Canada. Harrison worked intensely in preparations for a winter campaign in the northwest, which the feelings of the people demanded. To do this he must march a crude and undisciplined army through a savage wilderness, in dark forests and across tangled swamps, wherein lurked wily enemies; and, at the same time, he had to defend a frontier several hundred miles in extent against the tomahawk and scalping-knife, at all hazards. Block-houses had to be built and garrisoned on the way, and magazines of provisions created and defended. But the good soldiers cheerfully undertook the difficult task. Brave and experienced leaders had rallied to his standard. Kentucky sent swarms of young men from every social rank, led by the veteran Isaac Shelby, whose exploits at King's Mountain in the Revolution were remembered with gratitude. The yeomanry of Ohio and its neighborhood had hastened to the field; and so

numerous were the volunteers, that Harrison was compelled to issue orders against further enlistments. He made the vicinity of the Maumee Valley, near the western end of Lake Erie, the place of general rendezvous, whence he intended to fall upon Malden and Detroit; and he designated the brigades from Virginia and Pennsylvania, and one from Ohio, under General Simon Perkins, as the right wing of the army, and the Kentuckians under General Winchester, as the left wing. So arranged, the army pressed forward.

Winchester, with eight hundred young Kentuckians, reached the Maumee Rapids in January, 1813, where he learned that a party of British and Indians

were occupying Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan), on the River Raisin, twenty miles south of Detroit. He sent a detachment, under Colonels Allen and Lewis, to protect the inhabitants in that region, who drove the enemy out of the hamlet of about thirty families, and held it until the arrival of Winchester, on the 20th, with about three hundred men. At that time General Proctor was at Malden, eighteen miles distant, with a considerable body of British and Indians; and with fifteen hundred of these, he crossed the river and marched stealthily at night to attack the Americans.



A BLOCK-HOUSE.

Late in the evening of the 21st, intelligence reached Winchester that a foe was approaching. He did not believe it. At midnight the camp was as reposed as if under absolute security from heaven.

The sentinels were posted; but the weather being intensely cold, pickets were not sent out upon roads leading to the town. Just as the drummer-boy was beating the *réveillé* in the gray of dawn on the 22d, the sharp crack of a rifle, followed by musketry, awoke the sleepers. Bombshells and canister-shot immediately succeeded in a shower upon the camp. The Americans seized their arms, and opposed force to force. Very soon the soldiers fled to the woods for shelter, where the savages, who swarmed there, hewed them down with gleaming hatchets. The allies made it a war of extermination on that morning.

Winchester was made a prisoner, and he concluded an agreement with Proctor to surrender his troops to that officer on condition that ample

protection should be given to them against the fury of the savages. The promise was given and immediately violated. Proctor, knowing Harrison to be near, hastened toward Malden, leaving the sick and wounded Americans behind, without a guard. The Indians followed him awhile, when they turned back, murdered and scalped those who were unable to travel as captives, set fire to houses, and took many prisoners to Detroit to procure exorbitant prices for ransom. The indifference of Proctor and his troops on that occasion, and the dreadful suspicion that they encouraged the savages in their butchery of the defenceless, was keenly felt in all the West, and par-



SCENE AT THE RIVER RAISIN.

ticularly in Kentucky, for most of the victims were of the flower of society in that State. After that the war-cry of Kentuckians—"Remember the River Raisin!" was often heard.

Harrison had advanced to the Maumee Rapids when he heard of the disaster at Frenchtown, and hearing that Proctor was marching toward Malden, he established a fortified camp there at the beginning of February, and named it Fort Meigs. It was near the site of the present village of Perrysburg, and opposite Maumee City. There Harrison was besieged many weeks afterward by Proctor and Tecumtha, with full two thousand of their allied followers. They came down from Malden and appeared at the British Fort Miami, near Fort Meigs, at the close of April. Although the latter fort was strong, having bastions and many cannon planted, Harrison felt

that its garrison was in peril, and he sent a courier to General Greene Clay, who was on his march northward with Kentuckians, urging him to press forward.

Clay was near the Maumee Valley when the courier reached him. He resolved to send Harrison word of the near approach of succor, for Clay was at the head of twelve hundred men. Captain Leslie Combs, a young man then nineteen years of age (yet living), volunteered to be the messenger. With four men of his company and a young Indian, he went down the Maumee in a canoe, and as they approached the Rapids, they heard the roar of artillery at Fort Meigs. It was the first of May, and Proctor had begun the siege. How shall I enter an invested fort? was a question that perplexed the gallant captain. But he pushed on, and having passed the Rapids in safety, he rounded a point in full view of the fort, over which waved the Stars and Stripes. Suddenly some Indians appeared in the woods on shore. Combs attempted to shoot by them in the canoe on the swift current, but a volley from their guns killed one of his men and badly wounded another. They turned the prow of the canoe toward the opposite shore and escaped.

Clay pressed forward, and on the morning of the 5th of May, was near the fort. A large part of his troops, under Colonel Dudley, were landed near the site of Maumee City, and pressed forward to attack the British battery there. Captain Combs and his riflemen were in the advance. The battery was taken, most of its great guns were spiked, and the British flag was hauled down and trailed on the earth, while huzzas rang out from the ramparts of Fort Meigs. The troops were signaled to fall back and cross the river; but at that moment some ambushed Indians fell upon Combs and his men and made them prisoners. These savages were attacked by Dudley's troops. The Indians were reinforced, and Dudley was defeated and slain. Of the eight hundred men who followed him from the boats, only one hundred and seventy escaped to Fort Meigs.

Meanwhile Colonel Boswell, with the remainder of Clay's army, had fought his way toward the fort. Meeting a sallying party sent out by Harrison, they all turned upon their assailants and drove them into the woods. Another sortie was made against the besiegers at another point, and more than eight hundred of the motley foe were driven from their batteries and dispersed. The siege of Fort Meigs was then abandoned, and the assailants went back to Malden. Combs and his companions were stripped and taken to old Fort Miami, where, almost naked, they were compelled to run the gauntlet between two rows of savages, armed with war-clubs, tomahawks, scalping-knives, and pistols. Many of the victims were killed or badly

maimed by blows from the Indians. When the survivors were all inside the fort, they would have been massacred but for the humanity of Tecumtha, which was greater than that of Proctor, who did not attempt to stay the fury of the Indians. Active military operations in the West were suspended for several weeks after the siege of Fort Meigs was raised.

Let us here take a brief retrospective glance at civil affairs. Congress assembled on the 2d of November, 1812. Its counsels were divided by fierce party-spirit that boded evil to the public interests. The Democrats had a decided majority in both houses, and the measures of the administration were sustained. Madison was re-elected President of the republic. There had been some changes in the cabinet, John Armstrong having taken the place of William Eustis as Secretary of War, in January, 1813, and William Jones that of Paul Hamilton as Secretary of the Navy, at the same time. Mr. Monroe remained Secretary of State, and William Pinckney, Attorney-General. The British government had shown some desire for reconciliation, by a repeal of the Orders in Council, but there were other obstacles which kept the doors of amicable adjustment fast closed. The report of the Committee on Foreign Relations to the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calhoun, their chairman, had taken high ground, which the British government did not approve. "The impressment of our seamen," said that report, "being deservedly considered a principal cause of the war, the war ought to be prosecuted until that cause be removed. To appeal to arms in defence of a right, and to lay them down without securing it, or a satisfactory evidence of a good disposition in the opposite party to secure it, would be considered in no other light than a relinquishment of it. . . . War having been declared, and the case of impressment being necessarily included as one of the most important causes, it is evident it must be provided for in the pacification. The omission of it, in a treaty of peace, would not leave it on its former ground; it would, in effect, be an absolute relinquishment—an idea at which the feelings of every American must revolt."

Almost simultaneously with the presentation of this report (January, 1813), which recommended negotiations for peace, the Prince Regent (the actual sovereign of Great Britain) issued a manifesto concerning the causes of the war and the subject of blockade and impressment, in which he declared that the war was not the consequence of any fault of Great Britain, but that it had been brought on by the partial conduct of the American government in overlooking the aggressions of the French in their negotiations with them. He alleged that a quarrel with Great Britain had been sought because she had adopted measures solely retaliative as toward France, and that as those measures had been abandoned by a repeal of the

Orders in Council, the war was now continued on the question of impressment and search. On this point the Prince Regent took such a decisive position, that the door for negotiation seemed to be irrevocably shut. "His Royal Highness," said the manifesto, "can never admit that the exercise of undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching merchant-vessels in time of war, and the impressment of British seamen when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag; neither can he admit, the taking of such seamen from on board such vessels can be considered by any neutral state as a hostile measure or a justifiable cause of war." This assertion was not correct, for the right of Great Britain to search and impress had been disputed by all the maritime nations of Europe for many years.

After reaffirming the old English doctrine respecting self-expatriation of a British subject, the manifesto continued: "But if to the practice of the United States to harbor British seamen, be added their assumed right to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own country as within it, it is obvious that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States, would be to expose the very foundation of our maritime strength." The manifesto charged our government with systematic efforts to inflame the people against Great Britain, and that a hostile temper toward that government, and "complete subserviency to the ruler of France," was evident in the official correspondence between the American and French governments. "While contending against France in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but also of the world," said the manifesto, "His Royal Highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin—their common interest—from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny." The Prince Regent also declared most solemnly, in that manifesto, that "the charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States, is equally void of foundation." This denial was iterated and reiterated by British statesmen and publicists then, and have been ever since. It is very natural for a civilized and Christian people to repel the charge of complicity with savage pagans in the practice of merciless and barbarous warfare; but the fact has been too clearly proved by documentary and other evidence to be doubted.

At this juncture, when reconciliation seemed impossible, a ray of hope came from northern Europe. When the declaration of war reached St.

Petersburg, the Russian emperor, Alexander, expressed his regret to the American minister, John Quincy Adams, and suggested the expediency of tendering his mediation for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. Mr. Adams favored it; but the victorious march of Napoleon toward Moscow, the heart of the Russian empire, delayed the measure for a while. The mediation was finally tendered through the Russian minister at Washington early in March, 1813, a few days after Mr. Madison, in his second inaugural address, had endeavored to excite the feelings of the people in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. The offer was accepted by the President, who nominated Albert Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, and James A. Bayard, a member of the Senate, to act jointly with Mr. Adams, as commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, at St. Petersburg. The British government refused to accept the mediation of the emperor, and the war went on.

We left General Harrison and his little army at Fort Meigs. When he was assured that Proctor and his allies had returned to Fort Malden, he left General Clay in command of Fort Meigs, and proceeded to Lower Sandusky (now Fremont, on the west bank of Sandusky River,) and the interior, to make preparations for the defence of the Erie frontier against the foiled and exasperated foe. He met Governor Meigs at Lower Sandusky, with a considerable body of Ohio militia, pressing forward to his relief; and he found the Ohio settlements so full of enthusiasm, that he felt sure of aid whenever he might call for it. Meanwhile Tecumtha had been urging Proctor to renew the siege of Fort Meigs. That timid General hesitated a long time; but finally, late in July, he appeared before Fort Meigs with his Indian allies—his own and Tecumtha's followers numbering about four thousand. The tribes of the northwest were fully represented. Satisfied that he could not capture the fort, Proctor and his white troops embarked with their stores, on the 28th of July, for Sandusky Bay, with the intention of attacking Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, a regular earthwork, with a ditch, circumvallating pickets, bastions, and block-houses. It was garrisoned by one hundred and sixty men under the command of Major George Croghan of the regular army, and then only twenty-one years of age.

Proctor's dusky allies marched across the country to assist in the siege; and when, on the afternoon of the 31st, the British in transports and gunboats appeared at a turn in the river a mile from the fort, it was perceived that the woods near by were swarming with Indians. Tecumtha had concealed about two thousand of them in the forest, to watch the roads along which reinforcements might attempt to reach Fort Stephenson. Proctor at once made a demand for the surrender of the fort, accompanied by the usual

couched threat of massacre by the Indians in case of refusal. The demand was met by a defiant refusal. This was immediately followed by a cannonade from the gun-boats and howitzers which the British had landed. All night long the great guns played upon the fort without serious effect, and answered occasionally by the solitary 6-pound cannon possessed by the garrison, which was shifted from one block-house to another to give the impression that the works were armed with several great guns.

During the night the British dragged three 6-pound cannon to a point higher than the fort, and early in the morning these opened fire on the



ATTACK ON FORT STEPHENSON.

works. This continued many hours with very little effect, the garrison remaining silent. Proctor became impatient and his savage allies were becoming uneasy, for there were rumors of reinforcements on their way for the men in the fort; so he resolved to storm the work. At five o'clock in the afternoon of that hot August day, while the bellowing of distant thunder was heard from an angry tempest-cloud in the western sky, the British marched in two columns to assail the fort. At the same time some



THE BRITISH REPULSED AT FORT STEPHENSON

British grenadiers made a wide circuit through the woods to make a feigned attack at another point. As the two columns advanced, the artillery played incessantly upon the fort, and under cover of the smoke they had reached a position within fifteen or twenty paces of the strong pickets, before they were discovered. The garrison consisted of Kentucky "sharp-shooters," whose rifles now opened a deadly fire upon the foe. The British columns wavered, but soon rallied; and the first, pushing over the glacis, leaped into the ditch to assail the palisades. "Cut away the pickets, my brave boys, and show the damned Yankees no quarter!" shouted Lieutenant-Colonel Short, their leader. His voice was soon silenced. In a block-house that commanded the ditch in a raking position, the only cannon of the fort was masked. When that ditch was crowded with men, the port flew open and a terrible storm of slugs and grape-shot swept along the living wall with awful effect. The second column, led by Lieutenant Gordon, leaped into the ditch, and met a similar reception, to which was added a volley of rifle-balls. Short and Gordon, and many of their followers, were slain in the ditch. A precipitate and confused retreat followed, the British having lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and twenty-men, while only one man of the garrison was killed and several were wounded. The cowardly Indians, always afraid of cannon, had not joined in the fight, but were swift in the flight.

This gallant defence of Fort Stephenson commanded the greatest admiration, and Major Croghan received many honors. Congratulatory letters were sent to him. The ladies of Chillicothe, Ohio, bought and presented to him an elegant sword, and Congress voted him the thanks of the nation. Twenty-two years afterward, that body awarded him a gold medal for his bravery and skill on that occasion. This defence, so unexpected and successful, had a powerful effect upon the Indians. Tecumtha no longer believed in British invincibility, of which Proctor had boasted, and the British abandoned all hope of capturing these western American posts until they should become masters of Lake Erie.



CHAPTER XCVI.

Command of Lake Erie Coveted—Captain Perry Superintends the Creation of a Fleet in that Lake—The American and British Squadrons—Perry Reports to Harrison—Naval Battle on Lake Erie—Harrison Pursues the British from Malden—Battle on the Thames—Defeat of the British—Michigan Recovered—Events on the St. Lawrence Frontier—Capture of York and Fort George—Battle at Stony Creek—British Repulsed at Sackett's Harbor—Another Invasion of Canada Planned—Disagreement of General Officers.

WHO shall be masters of Lake Erie? was a question which the belligerents tried to solve in the summer and early autumn of 1813. Our government had not listened to the proposition of General Hull early in 1812, to construct a naval force on that lake, but its wisdom was made manifest before the close of that year.

Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, a zealous young naval officer of Rhode Island, who was in command of a flotilla of gun-boats on the Newport station, offered his services for the lakes, and early in February, 1813, a letter to him from Commodore Chauncey, said: "You are the very person I want for a particular service, in which you may gain reputation for yourself and honor for your country." That service was the command of a naval force on Lake Erie; and on the 17th of February, Perry received orders from the Secretary of the Navy to report to Chauncey with all possible dispatch, and to take with him to Sackett's Harbor all of the best men of the flotilla at Newport. He sent them forward at once in companies of fifty under sailing-masters Almy, Champlin and Taylor, and followed them in a sleigh. He met Chauncey at Albany, and they journeyed together in a sleigh through the dark wilderness to Sackett's Harbor. A fortnight afterward (March, 1813,) Perry went to Presque Isle (now Erie, Pa.,) to hasten the construction and equipment of a little navy there, to co-operate with General Harrison for the recovery of Michigan.

Four vessels were speedily built at Erie, and five others were taken to that sheltered harbor from Black Rock, below Buffalo, where Henry Eckford had fashioned merchant-vessels into warriors. The little fleet of nine vessels were all ready at Erie early in July, and the flag-ship was named the *Law-*

rence, in compliment to the gallant commander of the *Chesapeake*, who had just given his life to his country. But men and supplies were wanting, and Perry had to wait weeks, in great impatience, before he could get out on the lake to meet a British squadron that was cruising there under Commodore Barclay. That squadron seriously menaced the fleet at Presque Isle, while Perry chafed under compulsory idleness. Late in July he wrote to Chauncey: "For God's sake, and yours and mine, send me men and officers, and I will have them all (the British vessels) in a day or two. . . . Our sails are bent, provisions on board, and in fact everything is ready. Barclay has been bearding me for several days; I long to be at him. . . . Think of my situation; the enemy in sight, the vessels under my command more than sufficient and ready to make sail, and yet obliged to bite my fingers with vexation for want of men."

Meanwhile the tardy government and the stay-at-home citizens were calling loudly upon Perry and Harrison to "do something," and the former, fretted by these implied complaints, having been reinforced by about one hundred men under Captain Elliott, went out upon the lake with his little fleet early in August, before he was fairly prepared for vigorous combat. He determined to report to Harrison that he was ready for co-operation with him, and on the 17th day of August, when off Sandusky Bay, he fired signal guns according to agreement. Late on the evening of the 19th, Harrison and his suite arrived in boats and went on board the *Lawrence*, where arrangements were made for the fall campaign in that quarter. Harrison had then about eight thousand militia, regulars and Indians, at camp Seneca, a little more than twenty miles from the lake. While he was waiting for Harrison to prepare his army for transportation to Malden, Perry cruised about the lake. Then he lay quietly at anchor in Put-in-Bay for a few days. On a bright and beautiful morning, the 10th of September, the sentinel watching in the maintop of the *Lawrence*, cried "Sail ho!" It announced the appearance of the British fleet, clearly seen in the north-western horizon.

Six barques train'd for battle the red flag displaying,
By Barclay commanded, their wings wide outspread,
Forsook their stronghold, on broad Erie essaying,
To meet with that foe they so lately did dread.

The sentinel's cry was followed by signals from the *Lawrence* to the rest of the fleet: "Enemy in sight. Get under way;" and the shout of the boatswains, "All hands up anchor, ahoy!" Perry's nine vessels were the brigs *Lawrence*, 20; *Niagara*, 20; *Caledonia*, 3. Schooners *Ariel*, 4; *Scorpion*, 2, and two swivels; *Tigris*, 1; *Porcupine*, 1; and sloop *Trippe*, 1; in all fifty-

four carriage-guns and two swivels. Barclay's fleet consisted of the flag-ship *Detroit*, the *Queen Charlotte*, *Lady Prevost*, *Hunter*, *Little Belt*, and *Chippewa*, carrying 64 carriage-guns, 2 swivels, and 4 howitzers. At the masthead of the *Lawrence*, Perry displayed a blue banner, with the reported last words of Captain Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship!" displayed upon it in large white letters.

The two squadrons slowly approached each other, and at noon the battle began at long range—the *Scorpion*, commanded by young Champlin, then less than twenty-four years of age, firing the first shot on the American side. Nearer and nearer the vessels approached each other; hotter and hotter waxed the fight. For two hours the *Lawrence* bore the brunt of battle, with twice her force, until, like the *Guerriere*, she lay upon the waters an almost total wreck. Her rigging was all shot away; her sails were cut into shreds, her spars were battered into splinters, and her guns were dismounted. One mast remained, and from it the Stars and Stripes were streaming. A less hopeful man than Perry would have pulled them down and surrendered, for his deck was a scene of dreadful carnage. Meanwhile, most of the other vessels had been fighting gallantly, excepting the stanch *Niagara*, Captain Elliot, which kept outside and was unhurt. As this lagging brig drew near, Perry determined to fly to her, and renewing the fight, gain a victory. In token of his faith he put on the uniform of his rank, as if conscious he should receive Barclay as a prisoner. Then taking down his broad pennant and the banner with the stirring words, he entered his boat with his little brother, fourteen years of age, and four stout seamen for the oars, and started on his perilous voyage, anxiously watched by Lieutenant Yarnell and a few others, who had been left in charge of the battered *Lawrence*. Perry stood upright in his boat with the pennant and banner partly wrapped around him, a conspicuous mark for the guns of the enemy. Barclay, who was badly wounded, knew that if Perry, who had fought the *Lawrence* so gallantly, should tread the decks of the stanch *Niagara* as commander, the British would be in danger of defeat; so he ordered big and little guns to be brought to bear upon the boat that bore the young hero. The voyage lasted fifteen minutes. The oars were splintered, bullets traversed the little vessel, and round and grape-shot falling in the water near, covered his oarsmen with spray. But he reached the *Niagara* in safety. Hoisting his pennant over that vessel, he dashed through the British line, and eight minutes afterward the colors of the enemy's flag-ship were struck, and all but two of the fleet surrendered. These attempted to escape. They were pursued and brought back by the brave young Champlin in the *Scorpion* late in the evening. He had fired the *first* gun at the opening of the

battle, and now he had fired the *last* one in securing the conquered vessels. The victory was complete. Assured of triumph, Perry sat down, and resting his naval cap on his knee, wrote with a lead-pencil, on the back of a letter, this famous despatch to General Harrison: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop.

"Yours, with great respect,

"O. H. PERRY."



PERRY GOING FROM THE "LAWRENCE" TO THE "NIAGARA."

The news of this victory carried joy to the hearts of the Americans. The lakes had echoed the triumphs of the ocean. The name of Perry was made immortal. His government, in the name of the people, thanked him, and gave him and Elliott each a gold medal. States and cities honored him. The legislature of Pennsylvania voted him thanks and a gold medal; and they gave the thanks of the Commonwealth and a silver medal to each man who was engaged in the battle. The loss of the Americans in the conflict on Lake Erie, considering the small number engaged, was very severe—

twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded. The British lost about two hundred in killed and wounded, and six hundred made prisoners. Perry's humane conduct toward the captives was such that Barclay declared it was sufficient to immortalize him.

This victory was followed by energetic action on the part of Harrison. The veteran Governor Shelby, the hero of King's Mountain, had joined him with four thousand Kentucky volunteers. The command of Lake Erie was secured, and he proceeded to attack Fort Malden and attempt the recovery of Detroit. The fleet took a part of his troops across the lake and landed them below Fort Malden, but no enemy was there. The cowardly Proctor, taking counsel of his fears, and in spite of the indignant remonstrances of Tecumtha, had fled with his motley host into the interior of Canada, setting fire to Fort Malden and the many buildings and store-houses at Amherstberg when he left. As the Americans approached the smoking ruins, they were met by a troop of modest, well-dressed women, who came to implore mercy and protection. Harrison calmed their fears and took possession of the fort while the bands played Yankee Doodle. Proctor's rear-guard had been gone only about an hour when the Americans arrived.

The American flotilla that bore the troops across the lake reached Detroit on the 29th of September. On the same day Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, with a troop of cavalry, arrived at Detroit, and Harrison encamped with his army at Sandwich. Informed that Proctor and Tecumtha were flying eastward toward the Moravian town on the Thames, or *La Tranche*, as the French called the stream, eighty miles from Detroit, Harrison began a pursuit on the morning of the 2d of October, with about thirty-five hundred troops. Johnson and his mounted men led the van, and Shelby's Kentuckians composed the bulk of the pursuers. They overtook the fugitives on the 5th, a short distance from the Moravian town, and there, in an open wood, with the Thames on one flank and a deep swamp on the other, a severe battle was fought. Tecumtha was slain, and his amazed followers, who had fought desperately, broke and fled to the shelter of the swamp. The whole British force, about eight hundred strong, were speedily vanquished, and most of them were made prisoners. Proctor escaped in his carriage, with his personal staff, a few dragoons and mounted Indians, hotly pursued by Johnson and his horsemen. He made his way to the western end of Lake Ontario, and there his military career was ended. Proctor was rewarded by the censure of his superiors, the rebuke of his sovereign, and the scorn of all honorable men, for his career in America had been marked by cowardice and cruelty.

Harrison's victory was complete. His praises were sounded from the

St. Croix to the delta of the Mississippi; and Congress gave him and Shelby the thanks of the nation and each a gold medal. At that battle six brass field-pieces taken from Hull at Detroit were recaptured, on two of which were engraved the words: "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga." They may now be seen at West Point, on the Hudson. The Moravian town, near the battle-ground, is a village in the township of Oxford, and was a settlement of Indian Moravian converts who had fled from the Muskingum, Ohio, in 1792.

This victory was an important one. All that Hull had lost was recovered. The Indian Confederacy in the Northwest was broken up, and the war on the northwestern border of the Union was ended. The achievement was fully appreciated, and a member of the House of Representatives said in his place: "Such a victory would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the Republic, the honors of a triumph." The frontier being now secured, Harrison dismissed a greater portion of the volunteers; and leaving Colonel Lewis Cass with a garrison of a thousand regulars, as military governor at Detroit on the 23d of October (1813), he proceeded to Niagara with the remainder of the troops, to join the army of the centre. For some unexplained reason, General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, treated Harrison so badly that the latter resigned, and his country was deprived of his valuable services at a most critical time.

During the winter of 1813, there were some stirring events on the St. Lawrence frontier. The repulse of the British at Ogdensburg has been noticed. After that, under the pretence of looking for deserters, British soldiers crossed the river and captured some Americans and committed robberies. Major Forsythe, in command of riflemen at Ogdensburg, retaliated by crossing to Elizabethtown (now Brockville) and releasing all the prisoners in jail there. This was resented by the British, who, on the morning of the 22d of February, 1813, about eight hundred strong, crossed the St. Lawrence River on the ice and entered Ogdensburg. The inhabitants fled into the country. A conflict of an hour ensued in the streets between the invaders and Forsythe's little force, and the enemy became masters of the village. Then they plundered every house in the town except three, burned the barracks near the river and two gun-boats and two armed schooners frozen in the ice, and returned to Canada with their plunder. These events accelerated the gathering of militia on the northern frontier, especially at Sackett's Harbor; but these troops, undisciplined, were of little immediate service.

A second invasion of Canada was a capital feature in the general plan of the campaign of 1814. General Dearborn, who was in immediate command

of the northern army, had about six thousand troops under his control. These were to defend the frontier from Buffalo to St. Regis, and to them was also given the task of capturing Montreal and the province of Upper Canada. Chauncey had gained such a mastery on Lake Ontario, that it was believed he might easily confine the British squadron to Kingston Harbor, where it was ice-bound during the winter. The plan of the campaign sent from the War Department reached General Dearborn at Plattsburg at near the middle of February, and he immediately made preparations for the invasion by concentrating troops at Sackett's Harbor and Buffalo. When Dearborn arrived at the former post, at about the first of March, rumors were current there that Sir George Prevost was in command of six or eight thousand men, and was actively engaged in preparations for offensive operations. Dearborn found only about three thousand troops at the Harbor. General Brown was ordered to summon several hundred of the militia to the field; and Colonel Pike was directed to hasten to the Harbor from Plattsburg with four hundred of his best men. Henry Eckford arrived soon after Dearborn, with instructions to build six war-schooners at Sackett's Harbor; and orders were given to Chauncey for the purchase of as many more as the exigencies of the service might require.

At the middle of April, Dearborn and Chauncey matured a plan of invasion with a combined land and naval force. It was to cross over the lake and capture York (now Toronto), and then to assail Fort George, near the mouth of the Niagara River. At the same time troops were to cross in the vicinity of Buffalo and capture Forts Erie and Chippewa, join the victors at Fort George, and all proceed to capture Kingston. With seventeen hundred troops under the immediate command of Pike, who had lately been commissioned a brigadier-general, Dearborn sailed in Chauncey's fleet from Sackett's Harbor on the 25th of April, and on the morning of the 27th, the armament appeared before York. The land forces disembarked about two miles westward of the British fortifications there, in the face of a galling fire from regulars and Indians under General Sheaffe. These were soon driven back to their works, and the Americans, led by the brave Pike, pressed forward and captured two redoubts. At the same time Chauncey was hurling upon the foe deadly volleys of grape-shot from his naval cannon.

Sheaffe and his little army, deserted by the Indians who had fled before the roar of artillery, now took post with the garrison near the governor's house and opened a heavy fire of round and grape-shot upon the invaders. This battery was soon silenced by Pike's heavy guns, and it was expected that a white flag, in token of surrender, would soon appear, when a sudden and awful catastrophe occurred. General Pike was sitting on the stump of

a tree talking with a captive British officer, when a tremor of the earth was felt and was immediately followed by a tremendous explosion near by. The British, unable to hold the fort, had fired a magazine of gunpowder on the edge of the lake. The effect was terrible. Fragments of the timber and huge stones, of which the magazine walls were built, were scattered in every direction over a space of several hundred feet and more. When the smoke floated away, the scene was appalling. Fifty-two Americans lay dead, and one hundred and eighty others were wounded. Forty of the British were also slain. General Pike, two of his aides, and the captive officer, were mortally hurt. The dying general was taken to one of Chauncey's vessels.



DEATH OF GENERAL PIKE.

His benumbed ears heard the shout of victory when the British ensign was pulled down at York. Just before he died, the captured British flag was brought to him. He smiled, and made a sign for it to be placed under his head. It was done, and he expired. The civil authorities of York and the militia officers formally surrendered the place, while Sheaffe and a larger part of his force, after destroying some vessels and store-houses, escaped to Kingston. The Americans lost in killed and wounded two hundred and eighty-six men; the loss of the British (besides prisoners), in killed and wounded, was one hundred and forty men.

The victors left York early in May, and proceeded to attack Fort George. The British force in that vicinity, under General Vincent, numbered about eighteen hundred men. Besides Fort George, they had several smaller works along the Niagara River. The American troops had landed and

encamped five miles east of Fort Niagara, and their arrangements were made for the attack on the British works on the morning of the 27th of May. The troops were conveyed by Chauncey's squadron, and under cover of his guns, landed a little westward of the mouth of the Niagara. The advance was led by Colonel Winfield Scott, accompanied by Commodore Perry, who had charge of the boats. He and Scott both leaped into the water at the head of the first division of men, and in the face of a galling fire and of bristling bayonets ascended the bank. The other troops followed, and after a severe conflict on the plain, the British fell back discomfited. General Vincent, satisfied that he must retreat, and knowing Fort George to be untenable, ordered the garrison to spike the guns, destroy the ammunition and abandon it. This was done, and the whole British force retreated westward to a strong position among the hills, at a place called the Beaver Dams, about eighteen miles from the Niagara River. There Vincent had a deposit of stores and provisions. Forts Chippewa and Erie were abandoned, and the Niagara frontier of Canada passed into the possession of the Americans.

Chauncey sailed for Sackett's Harbor, and on the first of June, Dearborn sent General Winder, with a considerable force, in pursuit of General Vincent, who was making his way toward Burlington Heights, at the western end of Lake Ontario. Winder took the lake-shore road, and marched rapidly. On the 5th he was joined by General Chandler, with some troops, who, being senior officer, took the chief command. Meanwhile Vincent had gained his destination and the Americans encamped at Stony Creek, seven miles eastward of him. There, on the night of the 6th, the Americans were surprised and fiercely attacked by Vincent. The night was intensely dark, and a severe battle was fought in the gloom. The British were repulsed, but in the darkness and confusion both of the American commanders were captured. The Americans, fearing a renewal of the attack, made a hasty retreat toward the Niagara. They were met by a relief party. On their way they were threatened by a British fleet on the left, and hostile savages on the mountain on the right; but they drove the former away with hot and cold shot, defied the latter and the local militia that hovered on their flanks, and reached Fort George in safety.

When the British at Kingston heard of the weakening of Sackett's Harbor by the withdrawal of a portion of the land and naval forces there, to attack York, they resolved to attempt its capture, for it was a place of great importance. It was the chief depot for the military and naval stores of the Americans on that frontier, and its possession would give to the holders the command of the lake. The affair at York made the enemy cir-

cumspect; but when it was known that Chauncey and Dearborn had gone to the Niagara, they proceeded to assail Sackett's Harbor.

On the evening of the 27th of May, word came to the Harbor, that a British squadron, under Sir James Yeo, had sailed from Kingston. Colonel Backus was in command of the troops at Sackett's Harbor. General Jacob Brown was at his home, a few miles from Watertown, and he had promised Backus to take the chief command in case of an invasion. The news from Kingston was sent to him, and before the dawn of the 28th, he was in the



MRS. SECOND WARNING FITZGIBBON.

camp at the Harbor. He sent expresses in all directions to summon the militia to the field and fired alarm-guns to arouse the inhabitants. As fast as the militia came in they were armed and sent to Horse Island, where the light-house now stands, the place where it was expected the invaders would first attempt to land.

At noon on the 28th, six British armed vessels and forty bateaux appeared off Sackett's Harbor, bearing over a thousand land troops, the whole armament under the command of Sir George Prevost. The troops were embarked in the bateaux, but were soon ordered back, when the whole squadron put to sea. Sir George had been alarmed by the appearance of a flotilla of American gun-boats approaching from the westward conveying a part of a regiment from Oswego to join the garrison at Sackett's Harbor. As soon as their real weakness was perceived, the prows of the squadron were again turned toward the Harbor, and on the morning of the 29th a

considerable force, with cannon and muskets, landed on Horse Island. The militia had been withdrawn from the island, and placed behind a gravel-ridge on the main. These fled almost at the first fire of the enemy. This disgraceful conduct astonished General Brown, and he attempted to rally the fugitives. Colonel Backus, with his regulars and Albany volunteers, were disputing the advance of the enemy inch by inch, and a heavy gun from Fort Tompkins played upon the British. At that moment a dense smoke arose in the rear of the Americans. The store-houses, in which was gathered an immense amount of materials, and the ship on the stocks, had been fired by the officer in charge, under the impression, when the militia fled, that the post would be captured. The sight was disheartening; but when Brown was assured that the incendiary was a friend, he felt a relief and redoubled his exertions to rally the militia. He succeeded, and so turned the fortunes of the day in favor of his country. Sir George Prevost, mounting a high stump and sweeping the horizon with his field-glass, saw the rallying militia on his flank and rear, and supposing these to be reinforcements of regulars in large numbers, sounded a retreat. That movement became a disorderly flight. The British troops reached the squadron in safety, leaving their dead and wounded behind. At noon the whole armament sailed away, and Sackett's Harbor was saved. So also was the ship on the stocks; but a half million dollars worth of stores were destroyed. Sackett's Harbor was never afterward attacked, and it remained the chief place of deposit for supplies for the northern frontier during the war.

We left the Americans on the Niagara frontier, at Fort George. The British advance-post was then at the Beaver Dams, and General Dearborn sent Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, with about six hundred men and two field-pieces, to capture the garrison and a large amount of stores collected there. It proved to be a most unfortunate undertaking. Mrs. Laura Secord, a light and delicate woman living at Queenstown, became acquainted with Dearborn's plan, and on a hot summer day on the 23d of June, she made a circuitous journey of nineteen miles on foot to the quarters of Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, who was at the Beaver Dams with some regulars, and informed him of his danger. When, on the following day, Boerstler penetrated that region, he was assailed by Indians under John Brant and others, and by an exaggerated statement of the strength of the British in that neighborhood, was induced to surrender his whole command. The British then advanced to Queenstown, and very soon invested Fort George with a strong force. Dearborn, whose career as commander-in-chief of the army had been singularly unsuccessful, was now succeeded by General James Wilkinson. The change was of no value to the American cause. Dearborn

withdrew from the service before the arrival of Wilkinson, leaving the command of the Americans at Fort George with General John Boyd, the senior officer on that frontier.

Thus far all attempts to conquer Canada had failed. The invasions were unsuccessful, yet the government did not seem to have gained wisdom by experience. The Secretary of War, General Armstrong, was as much infatuated with this idea as his predecessors had been, and he now conceived a plan for making an invasion of that province by the united forces of the armies of the centre and of the north; and on the arrival of Wilkinson from



JAMES WILKINSON.

HENRY DEARBORN.

the command of the Gulf regions, he was ordered to Sackett's Harbor to make arrangements for the future. He differed with Armstrong about the plan of the new invasion, and bitter enmity between them was soon aroused. The fiery spirit of Armstrong could not brook contradiction. There was another fiery spirit then in the field—General Wade Hampton of South Carolina, one of Marion's companions in arms, who had succeeded Bloomfield in command of the Northern Department. He was a thorough-going aristocrat, whose landed possessions in his native State and in Louisiana were almost princely in extent, and he counted his slaves by thousands. He hated Wilkinson intensely; and when that officer, on his arrival at Albany, sent his first order to Hampton, the anger of the veteran was fiercely kindled. He wrote to the Secretary of War, insisting that his was a separate command, and tendering his resignation in the event of his being

ordered to act under Wilkinson. The latter, at the same time, was as jealous of Armstrong, whom he feared might trample upon his prerogatives; and on the 24th of August (1813), he wrote to the Secretary: "I trust you will not interfere with my arrangements, or give orders within the district of my command, but to myself, because it would impair my authority and distract the public service. Two heads on the same shoulder make a monster."

The jealousies and bickerings, and the manifestations of undesirable personal traits afterward exhibited by these old officers of the Continental army, were highly detrimental to the public service. Armstrong was haughty, fiery, and opinionated. He was a son of an officer in the French and Indian War, and had, himself, been an officer in the Continental Army as aide-de-camp, first to General Mercer and afterward to General Gates. After the war he was active in public life in his native State (Pennsylvania); and having married a sister of Chancellor Livingston, he became a citizen of the State of New York. In 1804 he succeeded his brother-in-law as minister to France, and President Madison unwisely called him to his cabinet as Secretary of War, for he was not well fitted for that office and made serious mistakes. Wilkinson was no better fitted for the office he was called to fill. He, also, was an officer in the Continental Army, and was aide-de-camp to General Gates. His peculiar temperament and personal habits made his selection as commander on the frontier an unfortunate one. As a rule, the younger officers in the army, in the War of 1812-15, were the most efficient and successful.



CHAPTER XCVII.

Events on the Niagara Frontier—Colonel Scott and Regulars March Eastward—Events on Lake Champlain—Events on Lake Ontario—Expedition Against Montreal—Military Movements in Northern New York—Battle of Chrysler's Field—The American Troops in Winter-Quarters—Cruelties on the Niagara Frontier—Destruction of Buffalo—Events in the Gulf Region—War on the Creek Indians—Jackson Subdues Them—Naval Events on the Ocean—Cruise of the "Essex"—The "Hornet" and "Peacock"—The "Chesapeake" and "Shannon"—Loss of the "Argus"—Victory of the "Enterprise."

THE British, made bold by their success at the Beaver Dams, as we have observed, not only closely invested Fort George, but made incursions upon the soil of New York. On the night of the 4th of July, 1813, a party of Canadian militia and Indians, under Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, crossed over to Schlosser and captured a guard, with arms, ammunition and stores, and returned in triumph to Canada. On the 11th of the same month, Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, with a motley party of regulars, Canadians and Indians, about four hundred in number, landed a little below Black Rock, near Buffalo, before daylight. His object was to surprise and capture the little garrison there, and seize or destroy the large quantity of stores collected by the Americans, together with the ship-yard. They were defended by only about two hundred militia, and a dozen men in a block-house. These, with some infantry and dragoon recruits from the south and a few Indians,—a little more than one hundred in all, of the latter—were at Buffalo, under the command of General Peter B. Porter.

Bisshopp surprised the post at Black Rock. The militia fled toward Buffalo, and General Porter barely escaped capture in his own house, near by. He hastened toward Buffalo, rallied a part of the militia, and with fifty volunteer-citizens proceeded to attack the invaders. At the same moment forty Indians crossed from an ambush in a ravine, and with the fearful war-whoop rushed toward the foe. The frightened British, after brief resistance, fled in confusion to their boats, and, with Bisshopp, hastily departed, followed by volleys from American muskets. In this flight Bisshopp was mortally wounded, and died five days afterward.

At about the same time, a small party of Canadians, covered by a large

body of western Indians under Blackbird (the chief who conducted the massacre at Chicago the year before), encamped a short distance from Fort George, had a skirmish with the American pickets. Lieutenant Eldridge, a dashing young officer, went out from the fort, with forty followers, to the relief of the pickets. They fell into an Indian ambush, and only five escaped. Those who were captured were butchered and scalped by the Indians, with horrible attendant circumstances. After that, no military movement of much importance occurred on the Niagara frontier, until late in the autumn of 1813.

While Wilkinson was concentrating forces at the western end of Lake Ontario preparatory to another invasion of Canada, or to the striking of a "deadly blow somewhere," orders came from the Secretary of War to strengthen Fort George, and garrison it with at least six hundred regulars. Wilkinson left eight hundred regulars at the fort, with some militia under Colonel Scott, and, with the remainder of the army on the Niagara frontier, sailed eastward on the 2d of October. He instructed Scott, in the event of the British leaving that frontier, to put Fort George in charge of General McClure of the New York militia, and with the regulars to join the expedition destined to go down the St. Lawrence. This contingency soon occurred. When General Vincent heard of the defeat of Proctor on the Thames, he called the British troops from the Niagara to Burlington Heights. Then Scott crossed the river, and marching eastward as far as Utica, he there met the Secretary of War who had come from Washington to reconcile the difference between Wilkinson and Hampton, and to assume the conduct of the invading expedition. The Secretary permitted Scott to leave his troops and to press northward to join Wilkinson. Armstrong established the seat of the War Department at Sackett's Harbor.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events on Lakes Champlain and Ontario. In the spring of 1813, Captain Macdonough, who had been charged with the construction of a fleet on Lake Champlain, placed two stanch armed vessels on those waters, named *Growler* and *Eagle*. At the beginning of June they were sent to the foot of the lake to look after some British gun-boats that were depredating there. They ran down the Sorel with a stiff breeze almost to Isle-aux-Noix, when they turned and ran back, chased by British armed vessels and by a land force on each side of the narrow river. A heavy cannon-shot sunk the *Eagle*, and the *Growler* was captured with the crews of both vessels. This disaster stimulated Macdonough to greater exertions; and at the beginning of August he had placed on the lake, and fitted and manned, three armed schooners and six gun-boats. At about the same time Plattsburg (on the west side of the

lake), entirely uncovered, had been seized, plundered and scorched by a British land and naval force, fourteen hundred strong, under Colonel Murray, while General Hampton, with four thousand troops at Burlington, about twenty miles distant, had made no attempt to oppose the invaders. Such was the condition of affairs on Lake Champlain at the close of the summer of 1813, when Wilkinson took command of the army of the north.

Chauncey, meanwhile, had been busy on Lake Ontario, after leaving the mouth of the Niagara River. While at Niagara he heard of the appearance of a British fleet on the lake and its menace of Sackett's Harbor, when he immediately weighed anchor and sought the enemy. He crossed the lake, looked into York, and ran for Kingston; but not meeting with the British fleet, he went to the Harbor, where the embers of the late conflagration were yet smouldering. The unfinished big vessel on the stocks there had been saved, and she was speedily finished and named *General Pike*. But it was late in the summer before she was fully equipped and manned. The keel of a fast-sailing schooner, called the *Sylph*, was laid by Eckford at the Harbor, and was launched late in July.

For several weeks the belligerent fleets were moving over the lake without coming to an encounter. Chauncey was seeking an opportunity to measure strength and skill with his antagonist, and Sir James Yeo, the British naval leader, was continually avoiding battle, for his superiors had instructed him to "risk nothing." Chauncey had thirteen vessels, a great portion of them altered merchantmen. Sir James had six stanch vessels built expressly for war. Finally, on the 7th of July, they were in sight of each other. There was a stiff breeze and they manœuvred all day, each trying to obtain the weather-gage. At night there was a dead calm, and Chauncey, by the use of sweeps, gathered his vessels in close order. At midnight, fitful gales swept over the lake. Suddenly a rushing sound was heard at the rear of the American fleet, and it was soon ascertained that a terrific squall had capsized two of the vessels, and all on board had perished except sixteen men. The next day there was light skirmishing; but the summer wore away without bloodshed on the lake, Sir James continually expressing a desire to "fight the Yankees."

Finally, on the 18th of September, Chauncey, who had been sent to Niagara to convey troops to Sackett's Harbor, went out to attack the British fleet which had followed him. He compelled the baronet to fight or cease boasting. A sharp battle ensued between the *Pike* and the heavier vessels of the enemy, but it did not last long. When the smoke of the conflict was cleared away, it was found that the *Wolfe*, Sir James Yeo's flag-ship, was too much bruised to fight any longer, and was hurrying away before the wind,

with crowded canvas, covered in her retreat by the *Royal George*. The enemy fled westward to Burlington Bay, pursued by Chauncey, but a rising gale made it prudent for the latter to return to Niagara. The British vessels soon made their way to Kingston; and Chauncey, returning to the Harbor, did little more during the remainder of the season than to watch the enemy and to assist the army in its descent of the St. Lawrence.

It had been determined by Armstrong and Wilkinson, in council at Sackett's Harbor, that the latter should lead an expedition down the St. Lawrence to attack Montreal. While preparations for this enterprise was in progress, the right wing of the army, under General Hampton, had been put in motion to co-operate with the forces on the St. Lawrence. At the middle of September, Hampton had gathered at Cumberland Head, near Plattsburg, four thousand effective infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and a well-appointed train of artillery. He moved forward, and on the 24th encamped on the Chateaugay River, not far from the present village of Chateaugay in Franklin county, N. Y., where he awaited further orders.

At the middle of October, the troops destined for Montreal embarked at Sackett's Harbor, and at the same time Hampton was ordered to make his way to the St. Lawrence at the mouth of the Chateaugay, to co-operate with them. The flotilla of open boats was terribly smitten by a gale. The vessels were dispersed, and much property was lost. The troops rendezvoused on Grenadier Island, except some under General Brown that pushed forward to French Creek, now Clayton, where, on the afternoon of the 1st of November, they had a sharp fight with British schooners and gun-boats filled with infantry. In the meantime snow had fallen to a considerable depth, and a Canadian winter was near. The troops went forward from Grenadier Island, and the combined force left French Creek at dawn on the morning of the 5th of November, in about three hundred boats. It was clear and cold. The banners were all folded, and the music was silent, for they wished to elude the vigilance of the British, who, until then, did not know whether Kingston or Montreal was the destination of the expedition. But the Americans were discovered and were pursued by a heavy armed galley and gun-boats filled with troops, through the sinuous channels among the Thousand Islands. That evening the belligerents had a fight by moonlight in Alexandria Bay, and land troops from Kingston reached Prescott before Wilkinson arrived at Ogdensburg. The latter disembarked his army just above that village, and marched around to a point below to avoid the batteries on the Canada shore. In the meantime General Brown had successfully taken the flotilla past the batteries at Prescott, and the forces were reunited at a point four miles below Ogdensburg.

After many perils on land and water, and being closely pursued by the enemy in boats and on the shore, under the general command of Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, the flotilla lay anchored a few miles above the head of Long Rapids, on the 10th of November. Many of the troops under Generals Boyd and Brown were on the northern shores of the St. Lawrence, and Brown had pushed forward to dislodge the enemy posted at the foot of the Long Rapids to attack the flotilla when it should descend the stream. Brown was successful, and the next day (November 11, 1813) General Boyd pushed forward and met the enemy face to face, in battle array, on the farm of John Chrysler, a few miles below Williamsburg, in Canada. There a severe battle was fought in cold, snow and sleet, which lasted about five hours. Boyd was ably supported by Generals Swartwout and Covington, Colonels Coles, Ripley and Swift, and Adjutant-General Walbach at the head of cavalry. The Americans were driven from the field with a total loss in killed and wounded of three hundred and thirty-nine. Among the mortally wounded was General Covington. Under cover of the night, the American troops withdrew to the boats, and the next morning the flotilla passed the Long Rapids in safety. General Wilkinson was very ill, and word came from General Hampton that he could not form the ordered junction, but would return to Lake Champlain and co-operate in the attack on Montreal. He would not serve under Wilkinson. The officers of the little invading army did not deem it prudent to follow Wilkinson (who was then weak in body and mind) any further in the way of invasion, and a council determined that the troops should be put into winter-quarters at French Mills, on the Salmon River, which was done. So ended in disaster and disgrace the expedition for another invasion of Canada. And the campaign of 1813, in the north, closed with distressing events on the Niagara frontier in December. General McClure, considering Fort George untenable with his little garrison of only forty effective men, resolved to abandon it, cross the river, and leaving Fort Niagara in charge of a subaltern, march to Buffalo. Before leaving, he ordered the beautiful village of Newark, on the Canada side, to be set on fire. One hundred and fifty houses were laid in ashes. Many of the tenants—tender women and children—were turned into the keen winter air (it was the 10th of December) houseless wanderers. This wanton savageism created fiery indignation. The British seized Fort Niagara, and massacred a part of the garrison. Free rein was given to the Indians for plunder and destruction; and every village and hamlet on the New York side of the river between the lake and Buffalo, was despoiled and burnt. Black Rock and Buffalo did not escape. The exasperated enemy took possession of the latter village, containing about fifteen hundred inhab-

itants, and laid it in ruins. Only four buildings were left. That event occurred a little more than ninety years ago; now, on the site of that village, is a stately commercial city with over 341,000 inhabitants.

In the region of the Gulf of Mexico, affairs assumed a serious aspect in the summer of 1813. The ever-restless Tecumtha had been among the southern Indian tribes in the early spring, stirring them up to make war on the white people. The powerful Creeks, inhabiting Alabama and western

Georgia, yielded to his influence and persuasions; and at the close of August, a large party of them, led by the noted chief Weatherford, surprised and captured Fort Mimms, on the east side of the Alabama River, about ten miles above its junction with the Tombigbee. Flaming arrows set the fort on fire, and by the flames and the gleaming tomahawk, almost three hundred men, women, and children perished. The British agent at Pensacola had offered five dollars apiece for scalps, and many a savage pagan bore away the locks of men and the long tresses of women as marketable commodities in a Christian market.



SCALPS FOR THE MARKET.

This event aroused the whole southwest. A cry for help went northward, but it took a month to reach New York. Meanwhile the people of Tennessee flew to the relief of their suffering neighbors. General Andrew Jackson, commanding that region, was then dis-

abled by a wound received in a duel with the late Senator Thomas H. Benton; but he issued a stirring appeal to the men of his division. The Tennessee legislature provided for calling to the field over three thousand men, and immediate preparations were made for chastising the savages. Late in September Colonel John Coffee, at the head of five hundred cavalry, pressed on toward the frontier of the Creek country, and everywhere volunteers flocked to his standard. The appointed place of rendezvous for all the troops was at Fayetteville, eighty miles south of Nashville, and at that point Jackson arrived early in October, with his arm in a sling. He soon joined Coffee below the Tennessee, and with twenty-five hundred foot soldiers and thirteen hundred mounted men, he was encamped on the banks of the Coosa River at the beginning of November.

The campaign against the savages was opened with vigor. On the 3d of November, Coffee (who had lately been commissioned brigadier-general) surrounded an Indian force, with nine hundred men, at Tallashatchee (near the present town of Jacksonville, in Benton county, Alabama), and killed two hundred of the savages. Not a warrior escaped. Tallashatchee was wiped from the face of the earth. Hearing of the approach of General Cocke with East Tennesseans, Jackson pushed on to Talladega, east of the Coosa, in Talladega county, to relieve the settlers there. On the 8th of November he had a sanguinary battle with the Indians at Talladega, and defeated them with great slaughter. Among the trophies which he carried back to his camp on the Coosa, was a coarse banner on which were the Spanish arms, an evidence of the complicity of the Spaniards at Pensacola with the savages.

Late in November the Creek country was invaded from the east by Georgians under General John Floyd, nine hundred strong, accompanied by four hundred friendly Indians. Floyd pushed westward to the Tallapoosa River, and fell upon the Indians at Autossee, twenty miles above the confluence of that stream with the Coosa, at dawn on the 29th. The place was called "holy ground," and the prophets had taught the Indians that no white man could set his foot there and live. This fallacy was soon fearfully dispelled by Floyd and his followers. He assailed the warriors there with cannon, bullet, and bayonet. After a brief struggle the affrighted savages fled to the woods, closely pursued by the victors, who cruelly butchered every one they overtook.

In the meantime, General Claiborne had penetrated the Creek country from the west with a thousand men, to aid Jackson in subduing the savages. He fought the Indians who were under the immediate command of Weatherford, and on the morning of the 23d of November, he assailed them at Econachaca, another "holy" place at a bluff on the left bank of the Alabama River, in Lowndes county. There Tecumtha had left "prophets" to inflame the Creeks, and in the centre of the town white and dusky prisoners had been frightfully tortured at the stake. It was Weatherford's favorite resort, for he had built the village in an obscure place, to which no trail led. But Claiborne found it. Very soon after he closed upon it with three columns, the Indians fled in dismay, and in canoes and by swimming many escaped to the opposite shore. Weatherford, finding himself deserted by his warriors, fled swiftly on a powerful gray horse, hotly pursued, to the verge of a perpendicular bluff, having a ravine on each side. There he paused a moment, when his steed made a mighty leap, and horse and rider disappeared under the flood. They immediately rose, and Weatherford,

with his rifle in his hand, was borne by the noble animal to the opposite shore, and escaped.

Jackson's army was literally disbanded at the close of 1813, but he was soon at the head of a thousand raw recruits and some friendly Indians, attended by General Coffee. His forced inactivity for awhile had encouraged the Indians to be aggressive, and he resolved to renew the war with as much



LEAP OF WEATHERFORD'S HORSE.

vigor as possible. He pushed on with his force toward the Indian village of Emucfau, on the western bank of the Tallapoosa River, in Tallapoosa county, and encamped near there on the evening of the 21st of January, 1814. At daybreak the next morning he was fiercely attacked by the savages, and a very hard struggle ensued. The courage of the Creeks was astonishing, and though they were repulsed, Jackson thought it prudent to withdraw and return to Fort Strother, from which he had marched.

During the winter there was skirmishing in the Creek country ; and early in February, Jackson was gratified by news that two thousand East Tennesseans were near Lookout Mountain, coming to join him. The Choctaw Indians openly espoused the cause of the Americans, and at the beginning of March, he was at the head of about five thousand men, prepared to strike the savages a crushing blow. The Creeks, aware of this, gathered in large numbers at the Horse-shoe Bend of the Tallapoosa, to avert it. They called the place Tohopeka, and by the aid of white men at Pensacola, they had built a very strong breastwork of logs across the neck of the peninsula. The Indians had gathered there an ample supply of food, and with their women and children, numbering in all about twelve hundred persons, they determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Jackson moved upon Tohopeka with about two thousand soldiers, and on the 27th of March (1814) began an assault upon the stronghold, after planting small cannon on an eminence not far off. The Indians were in a fortified pen and were hopeful. The white men could make but very little impression upon their works, and were derided by the savages. Jackson called for volunteers to storm them. The first man who stepped out was Ensign Houston (afterward the eminent Sam Houston, governor of Texas), who was already wounded. Others followed. They set fire to the fortifications, and as the inmates tried to escape, they were shot down like wild beasts. Not one would surrender, and they were butchered without mercy. At the close of the conflict, almost six hundred Creek warriors lay dead, and the spoils of victory were more than three hundred Indian widows and orphans. The nation had received a deadly blow. Its power and spirit were broken forever. The chiefs of the remnant sued for peace, and agreed to a treaty upon the terms imposed by Jackson. Weatherford, their great leader, survived the destruction of his nation, and he sought the tent of Jackson. There he found the general alone. Standing erect, his magnificent figure assuming an attitude of quiet dignity, Weatherford folded his arms and with a firm voice said: "I am in your power; do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. My warriors are all gone now, and I can do no more. When there was a chance for success, I never asked for peace. There is none now, and I ask it for the remnant of my nation." Jackson admired the pluck of the chieftain before him, and granted his request. So it has been time after time since the advent of the Europeans in America; the hands of the stronger have been laid upon the weaker until now nothing but *remnants* of once powerful nations are found.

There were important naval events on the ocean during the year 1813. We have observed that the *Essex*, Captain Porter, sailed on a long cruise, in the autumn of 1812. Having missed Bainbridge, Porter went southward, crossed the Equator on the 11th of December, 1812, and the next day captured his first prize, the British packet-ship *Nocton*, 10, with \$55,000 in



WEATHERFORD AND JACKSON.

specie on board. He sailed around Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean, with the intention of capturing the English whalers there, and to live on the enemy. While in those waters Porter seized twelve British whale-ships, with an aggregate of three hundred and two men and one hundred and seven guns. Some of them he armed, and at one time he had a fleet of nine vessels. The *Essex* finally met with disaster in the harbor of Valparaiso, in the spring of 1813. There she was blockaded, with her consort

Essex, Jr. (a prize vessel which Porter had manned with sixty choice men and armed with twenty cannon), by two British war-vessels—the frigate *Phæbe*, 36, Captain Hillyer, and the schooner *Cherub*, 20, Captain Tucker. At length Porter resolved to run the blockade. The sails of his vessels were spread for the purpose on the 28th of March, 1814, and both ships started for the open sea, when a squall partly disabled the *Essex* and both sought shelter in a bay. There they were attacked by the *Phæbe* and *Cherub*, and one of the most desperate and sanguinary battles of the war ensued. When at last the *Essex* was a helpless wreck and on fire, and her magazine was threatened—when every officer but one was slain or disabled—when, of the two hundred and twenty-five brave men who went into the fight on board of her, only seventy-five effective ones remained, Porter hauled down his flag. So ended the brilliant cruise of the *Essex*. Her gallant commander wrote to the Secretary of War: “We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced.” Porter was publicly honored as the “hero of the Pacific.”

When, after the capture of the *Java*, Bainbridge sailed for the United States, he left the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, commander James Lawrence, to blockade an English vessel in a South American port. The *Hornet* was driven away by a larger British vessel, and on the 24th of February, 1813, fell in with the British brig *Peacock*, 18, Captain Peake, off the mouth of the Demarara River. They fought desperately fifteen minutes, when the colors of the *Peacock* were hauled down, and a signal of distress was run up. Her commander was slain, and she was sinking. So rapidly did she fill, that before all the wounded could be taken from her, she went to the bottom of the sea, taking down with her nine British seamen and three Americans. Lawrence immediately sailed for the United States; and the story of the exploit of the *Hornet* created a profound sensation. A Halifax newspaper said: “It will not do for our vessels to fight them single-handed. The Americans are a dead nip.” Public honors were awarded to Lawrence, and Congress gave him thanks and a gold medal. To each of the commissioned officers of the *Hornet* they gave a silver medal. More precious than all was a public letter of thanks given to Lawrence by the officers of the *Peacock*, his prisoners, for his kind and generous treatment of them.

While the *Hornet* was on her homeward-bound voyage, with her large number of prisoners, the *Chesapeake*, 38, Captain Evans, was out on a long cruise to the Cape de Verd Islands and the coasts of South America. She accomplished nothing, excepting the capture of four British merchant vessels; and as she entered Boston harbor in a gale, her top-mast was carried away, and with it several men who were aloft. These were drowned. She

had the name of an "unlucky" ship. Evans was compelled to leave her on account of the loss of the sight of one of his eyes, and Lawrence, who had been promoted to captain, was put in command of her, with the *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, as consort.

At the close of May, the British frigate *Shannon*, 38 (she carried fifty-two guns), Captain Broke, appeared off Boston harbor in the attitude of a challenger. Lawrence observed her, and on the morning of the 1st of June he sent out a pilot-boat to ascertain whether she was alone. Shortly afterward Captain Broke sent in a polite note to Lawrence inviting him to come out to single combat, and assuring him that the *Chesapeake* would be crushed by a British squadron, if she should attempt to go to sea.

Seeing that the *Shannon* was without a consort, Lawrence, with Lieutenant Ludlow as his second in command, sailed out of Boston harbor to meet the boaster, at midday on the 1st of June. They engaged in a close conflict between five and six o'clock the same evening. After fighting twelve minutes, the shot of the *Shannon* so injured the spars and rigging of the *Chesapeake*, that she became unmanageable. Her mizzen rigging was entangled in the fore chains of her antagonist, in which position the decks of the *Chesapeake* were swept with terrible effect by the balls of the *Shannon*. Lawrence ordered his boarders to be called up. There was some delay in obedience, when a musket-ball mortally wounded the gallant young commander, and he was carried below. As he left the deck he said: "Tell the men to fire faster and not to give up the ship. Fight her till she sinks." The words of the dying hero, "Don't give up the ship!" became a battle-cry of the Americans. As an encouragement to any person struggling in life's battles, R. M. Charlton, referring to this incident, wrote in a short poem:

"Though danger spreads her ready snare
Your erring steps to trip,
Remember that dead hero's prayer,
And 'don't give up the ship.'"

Broke's boarders soon swarmed upon the deck of the *Chesapeake*, where the highest officer, not hurt, was a midshipman. A fierce hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which Lieutenant Ludlow, before wounded, was mortally hurt by a sabre cut. Victory remained with the *Shannon*, after a most sanguinary battle, in which the Americans lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and forty-six men, and the British eighty-four. Broke immediately sailed for Halifax with his prize, and the day before his arrival (June 7, 1813), Lawrence expired. The victory was hailed with great joy by the inhabitants. England rang with shouts of exultation. An American writer

remarked, "Never did any victory—not even that of Wellington in Spain, nor those of Nelson—call forth such expression of joy on the part of the British; a proof that our naval character had risen somewhat in their estimation."

The loss of the *Chesapeake* was soon followed by another disaster. The American brig *Argus*, 32, Captain Allen, had borne to France William H. Crawford, United States minister to that government. Then she cruised in British waters, and by celerity of movement and destructive energy, she spread consternation throughout commercial England. In less than thirty days she destroyed or captured twenty British merchantmen with their cargoes, valued at two million dollars. Too far away from home to send in his prizes, Allen burnt them all, after generous treatment of their people. Several British cruisers were sent out to capture the *Argus*. Just before the dawn of the 14th of August (1813), the British sloop-of-war *Pelican*, 18, Captain Maples, attacked her. The men of the *Argus* were weakened by the too free use of captured wine the night before, and after a conflict of three-quarters of an hour, she was compelled to strike her colors. In the action, a round-shot had carried away a leg of the brave Allen, and he died the next day. The capture of the *Argus* gave great relief to the British shipping interest, at that time, for she had appeared to be invincible.

Soon afterward an American naval vessel won honor by a victory near the New England coast. The brig *Enterprise*, 14, Lieutenant Burrows, sailed out of the harbor of Portland, Maine, on the morning of the 4th of September, in search of British cruisers. The next day she encountered the British brig *Boxer*, 14, Captain Blythe. Both leaders were mortally wounded at the beginning of the conflict, and Lieutenant McCall commanded the *Enterprise* during the battle of four minutes, when the *Boxer* was surrendered. The bodies of the two young commanders were buried side by side, in a cemetery near the water's edge, at Portland, and their graves are marked by marble slabs suitably inscribed, lying upon brick foundations. Congress presented a gold medal to the nearest masculine relative of Lieutenant Burrows, and another was given to Lieutenant McCall.



CHAPTER XCVIII.

Marauding Warfare—Plunder and Destruction of Towns—Cockburn at Havre-de-Grace—Norfolk Threatened—The British Repulsed—Cruelties at Hampton—Departure of the Marauders—Cruise of Commodore Rogers—Fall of Napoleon—Peace Faction—Financial Difficulties—Conspiracy Against the Public Credit—Disposition of Troops on the Northern Frontiers—La Colle Mills—Attack on Oswego—Capture of Fort Erie—Battle of Chippewa.

DURING the spring and summer of 1813, a most distressing warfare was carried on by a small British squadron and some soldiers, under the command of Admiral Cockburn, upon the coast between Delaware Bay and Charleston Harbor. The chief object of the marauding movements appears to have been to draw American troops from the northern frontier to the defence of the seaboard, and thus lessen the danger from invasion by which Canada was continually threatened. It was a sort of amphibious warfare, carried on upon land or water as circumstances seemed to require, and it was marked by many acts of wanton cruelty and barbarity on the part of the aggressors. "Chastise the Americans into submission" was the fiat that went out from the British Cabinet toward the close of 1812, and it was determined to send out a land and naval force sufficient to do it. An order in council in December declared the ports and harbors of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays in a state of blockade. The first hostile squadron entered the capes of Virginia early in February, 1813, commanded by Sir George Cockburn, whose flag-ship was the *Marlborough*, 74. His vessels bore a land force of about eighteen hundred men, a part of them captive Frenchmen from English prisons, who preferred active life in the British service to indefinite confinement in jails. The appearance of this force alarmed all lower Virginia, and the militia of the peninsula and the region about Norfolk were soon in motion after the squadron had anchored in Hampton Roads. An order went out from the Secretary of the Treasury for the extinguishment of all the beacon-lights on the Chesapeake coast, and at Old Point Comfort a host of armed men defied the invaders. At the same time the frigate *Constellation*, 38, lying near Norfolk, was making ready to attack the British vessels, when the latter withdrew and engaged in the destruction of merchant-vessels in Chesapeake Bay.

A part of the squadron went into Delaware Bay to demand the submission of the inhabitants along its shores. When the commander sent a note to the "first magistrate" of the little town of Lewis, demanding bullocks, provender and vegetables, and threatening the destruction of the town in case of refusal, he was astonished by the answer, "We solemnly refuse to commit legal or moral treason; do your worst." The inhabitants had prepared for the invaders, and the latter found prudence to be the "better part of valor." All along the Delaware coast the militia, forewarned, were out with experienced leaders. Newcastle and Wilmington were alive with enthusiasm. At the latter place the venerable Allen McLane, of the Continental Army, took the direction of military affairs; and for some weeks the thunders of the British squadron were held back. Finally, early in April, cannon of the enemy opened on Lewis, and hurled full eight hundred shot and shell upon the town, without doing much damage. The invaders were repulsed by the militia.

Meanwhile Cockburn, who had been plundering and distressing the inhabitants along the coasts of the Chesapeake Bay, concluded to undertake more ambitious adventures. He thought of attacking Annapolis, Baltimore, and even the national capital; but the experience of the squadron in the Delaware caused him to listen to the warnings of prudence, and he only made warfare upon the little villages of Frenchtown, Georgetown, Frederick and Havre-de-Grace, on the banks of the Chesapeake, which he plundered and burned. At the latter place, situated at the mouth of the Susquehanna River, he opened a cannonade in the night, at the beginning of May, while the inhabitants were slumbering, and with his shot and shell he sent blazing Congreve rockets that set buildings on fire. Then he sent four hundred men on shore, who proceeded deliberately to plunder the dwellings and lay them in ashes. When the village was half destroyed, Cockburn went ashore himself and was met by a deputation of ladies, who had taken refuge in a large brick house some distance from the town. They entreated him to spare the remainder of the village, and he reluctantly consented to do so. When the marauders left Havre-de-Grace, the town was at least sixty thousand dollars poorer than when they came.

On the first day of June (1813), Admiral Warren entered the Chesapeake with a naval reinforcement for the marauders, bearing a large number of troops under General Sir Sidney Beckwith. The British naval force then within the capes of Virginia consisted of eight ships-of-the-line, twelve frigates, and a considerable number of smaller vessels. Their proposed first point of attack was Norfolk, then defended by the frigate *Constellation*, twenty gun-boats and four forts, besides an outpost of strong fortifications

on Craney Island, a few miles below Norfolk. The militia of that region were in the field or in garrison, under the chief command of General Robert B. Taylor; and the troops on Craney Island were led by Lieutenant Colonel Beatty. The artillery were under the charge of Major James Faulkner. The armed vessels were placed in a curved line from Craney Island to the eastern shore.



THE BRITISH AT HAVRE-DE-GRACE.

Before the dawn of the 22d of June (1813) twenty-five hundred British troops were landed on the western shore, not far from Craney Island, and, in the early morning, they crept stealthily through the underbrush of the woods, to attack the Americans. At the same time fifty large barges filled with fifteen hundred sailors and marines, were seen approaching from the ships of the enemy. They were led by Admiral Warren's beautiful barge, and made for the narrow strait between Craney Island and the main. Faulkner had his artillery well in hand, and when the enemy were within proper distance, the great guns opened a terrible storm upon them. The invaders were repulsed, and retreated in haste to their ships. Warren's barge, which had a small swivel-gun at the bow, with four others, was sunk in the shallow water, when some American seamen waded out, seized the elegant little vessel and dragged it ashore, taking with them several men as

prisoners. The British now abandoned all hope of seizing Norfolk, the *Constellation* and the navy-yard, and never attempted it afterward.

Exasperated by this repulse, the enemy fell upon the village of Hampton with fury. Early on the morning of the 25th of June, twenty-five hundred soldiers, including the French captives, landed near the village. Major Crutchfield, with a small force, fought the invaders gallantly, until the pressure of a superior number compelled him to retreat, when the British entered the village and Admiral Cockburn gave it up to pillage and rapine. Many of the inhabitants had fled up the peninsula. Those who were unable to escape became victims of horrid atrocities, especially the unprotected women. A commission appointed to investigate the matter said, in their report, "The sex, hitherto guarded by the soldier's honor, escaped not the assaults of superior force." These transactions have consigned the name of Sir George Cockburn to merited dishonor. The British officers who tried to palliate the offence by charging the crimes upon the Frenchmen, were denounced by the most respectable British writers as responsible for the shame.

Leaving Hampton, Cockburn sailed down the coast of North Carolina, plundering the inhabitants wherever opportunity offered, and carrying away a large number of slaves whom he sold in the West Indies on his private account. In pleasing contrast to Cockburn's career on our coasts, was that of Commodore Sir Thomas Hardy on the ocean borders of New England, while he was in command of a blockading squadron there. His conduct was always that of a high-minded gentleman and generous enemy. Even when he was exasperated by the attempts of private individuals to blow up his vessels with torpedoes, his forbearance from retaliation was as generous as it was humane.

We may close the record of contests on sea and land in 1813, by a notice of a remarkable cruise by Commodore Rodgers. He left Boston late in April, in the *President*, 44, accompanied by the *Congress*, 38, and sailed to the northeast in search of British vessels. For weeks he was singularly unsuccessful, not meeting with a vessel of any kind. At length his presence in British waters became known, and produced much excitement among the English shipping. Many cruisers were sent out to capture or destroy the *President* (which had parted company with the *Congress* toward the Azores); and finally, on the 23d of September, Rodgers fell in with the British armed schooner *Highflyer*, the tender to Admiral Warren's flag-ship *San Domingo*, a stanch vessel and fast sailer and commanded by Lieutenant Hutchinson, one of Cockburn's subalterns when he plundered and burned Havre-de-Grace, the home of Rodgers. By stratagem the latter decoyed the *High-*

flyer alongside the *President*, and captured her without firing a gun. He had obtained some British signal-books before leaving Boston, and he had caused some signals to be made on his ship. When he came in sight of the enemy he raised a British ensign, which was responded to, and a signal was also displayed from the mast-head of the *Highflyer*. Rodgers was delighted to find he possessed its complement, when he signalled that his vessel was the *Sea-Horse*, one of the largest of the British vessels of its class in American waters. The *Highflyer* bore down, hove to under the stern of the *President* and received one of Rodgers' lieutenants on board, who was dressed in the British naval uniform. He bore an order from Rodgers for Hutchinson to send his signal-books on board the *Sea-Horse* to be altered, as the Yankees, it was alleged (and truly), had obtained possession of some of them. Hutchinson obeyed, and Rodgers was put in possession of the whole correspondence of the British navy.

The commander of the *Highflyer* soon followed his signal-books, and putting into Rodgers' hands a bundle of despatches for Admiral Warren, told the commodore that the main object of the British naval chief was to capture or destroy the *President*, which had spread alarm in British waters. "What kind of a man is Rodgers?" asked the commodore, when the unsuspecting lieutenant replied: "I have never seen him, but am told he is an odd fish and hard to catch." "Sir!" said Rodgers, with emphasis that startled Hutchinson, "do you know what vessel you are on board of?" The lieutenant answered, "Why, yes sir; his Majesty's ship *Sea-Horse*." "Then sir," said Rodgers, "you labor under a mistake; you are on board the *President*, and I am Commodore Rodgers." At that moment the band struck up "Yankee Doodle" on the *President's* quarter-deck, the American ensign was displayed, and uniforms were suddenly changed from red to blue. The lieutenant was astonished and was utterly overwhelmed with shame, for he had in his possession a sword which he had stolen from Rodgers' house at Havre-de-Grace. He had been instructed not to fall into the hands of Commodore Rodgers, for, it was alleged, he would hang the lieutenant to the yard-arm, if he should catch him. But Rodgers treated Hutchinson with all the courtesy due to a prisoner-of-war, and soon afterward he released him on parole. This transaction occurred off the New England coast, and three days afterward, Rodgers entered Newport with his prize. He had captured eleven merchant-vessels and nearly three hundred prisoners. In December, Rodgers sailed on another cruise to the southward, with some success and varying fortunes, and in February (1814) he dashed through a British blockading squadron off Sandy Hook and sailed into New York harbor. In that city he was entertained at a public dinner, at which he

gave the following patriotic toast: "Peace—if it can be obtained without the sacrifice of national honor or the abandonment of maritime rights; otherwise war until peace shall be secured without the sacrifice of either."

With the close of the year 1813, the British government evinced a disposition to prosecute the war in America with greater vigor. Their vessels-of-war swarmed in American waters and kept the seaport towns in such continual alarm, that all projects for conquering Canada by the Americans were



COMMODORE RODGERS AND LIEUTENANT HUTCHINSON.

kept in abeyance for awhile, though the invasion of that province continued to be a favorite scheme of the administration. Early in 1814 the victorious career of Napoleon was checked by the allied powers of Europe. Nearly every continental government coalesced with England in efforts to crush him and to sustain the sinking Bourbon dynasty. The armies allied in a common cause, approaching from different directions, met around Paris at the close of March, 1814, and the Prussian and Russian emperors entered the French capital in triumph. Napoleon had surrendered, for he had been closely pursued by superior armies, deserted by friends, and possessed only shattered forces. Hoping to secure the crown to his son, he abdicated the throne and retired to the island of Elba, where he was allowed to reign as

sovereign, with an annual income of twelve hundred thousand dollars. Peace for Europe seemed to be secured thereby. British troops were withdrawn from the continent, and early in the summer of 1814, fourteen thousand of Wellington's veterans, fresh from the fields of the Peninsula, were sent to Canada to operate against the United States.

It was fortunate for the Americans that hitherto since war against England had been proclaimed, hostile armies were fiercely contending in Europe. Had peace reigned on that continent when *our* war first began, Great Britain might have crushed the Americans by the mere weight of military and naval numbers and metal. The Americans were excessively weak when they began the war, for political partisanship divided the nation. They were physically unprepared for any excessive strain; but as the contest went on and the people beheld clearly that not party but *justice* was the object for which the armies and navies of the United States were contending, there was more unity and consequently more moral strength. At the beginning of 1814 there were very few opponents of the war outside of the unpatriotic Peace Faction and their influence. This faction was found in much the greatest numbers in New England, where they had been very active, during 1813, in efforts to embarrass the government in carrying on the war. They upheld violators of the law and defied every principle of patriotic action by nefarious acts, until the great body of the people of New England so emphatically condemned their course that they became less and less conspicuous.

Among the mischievous enemies of the government were selfish men who secretly supplied the British blockading squadrons from our shores, and received British manufactures in pretended neutral vessels, by the sale of which enormous profits were realized. This system of public mischief had become so deplorable in its consequences, that late in 1813 the President recommended the passage of an Embargo act, shutting up American ports to ingress and egress. It was done; but almost simultaneously with the passage of the act came news of Napoleon's reverses and prospects of peace in Europe. This intelligence was soon followed by the assurance of the British government of a willingness on its part to treat for peace with the Americans; but in these assurances, there was no disposition shown on the part of that government to recede one iota from its assumption of the right of search and impressment. The language of Lord Castlereagh was that his government was willing to treat with that of the United States "upon principles of perfect reciprocity *not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law* [the 'Rule of 1756'] *and with the maritime rights of the British empire.*" Our government, sincerely anxious for peace, interpreted this

generously, and added to the commission sent abroad to treat for Russian mediation, two other members authorized to join the others and negotiate a treaty with commissioners of the British government. There were now loud clamors for a repeal of the Embargo act, and it was repealed in April, 1814.

Meanwhile as these preliminary movements did not, by any means, give full assurance of peace, our government prepared to prosecute the war as vigorously as possible, notwithstanding the finances were in a wretched condition, and the public credit was so weak that United States Treasury notes had fallen seventeen per cent below par. From the beginning the government was compelled to ask for loans, and the Peace Faction made such persistent opposition for the purpose of embarrassing the administration, that in every case a bonus had to be paid for all sums borrowed. On a loan of \$16,000,000, authorized at the beginning of 1813, the lenders received a bonus of about \$2,000,000. In March, 1814, the darkest period of the war, a loan of \$25,000,000 was authorized, when the Peace Faction at public meetings, through the newspapers and even from the pulpit, cast every possible embarrassment in the way of the government. Their opposition assumed the character of virtual treason. They violently denounced the government and those who dared to lend it money; and by inflammatory publications and personal threats, they intimidated many capitalists who were disposed to lend. The result was that not one-half of the amount of the proposed loan was obtained, and that only by the payment on \$11,400,000 of a bonus of \$2,852,000. Over the failure of the government these unpatriotic men rejoiced, and pointed to it as an evidence that the people were opposed to war. So disastrous was this attempt to loan money, that only one more of a like nature was made through the remainder of the war, the deficiency being made up by the issue of Treasury notes.

Failing to accomplish their object in full by this movement (for banks and patriotic men loaned money to the government), the Peace Faction struck another blow at the public credit, and obtained the aid of the Boston banks in giving it intensity. The banks out of New England were the principal lenders to the government, and measures were taken to drain them of their specie, and so produce an utter inability on their part to pay their subscriptions. Boston banks sent the notes of New York banks and those further south, which they held, with a demand for their redemption in specie, and at the same time drafts were drawn on the New York banks for the balances due the Boston corporations to the total amount of about \$8,000,000. A panic was created and great commercial embarrassment ensued, for banks so drained were compelled to contract their discounts. This conspiracy against the public credit was potent and ruinous in its

effects. To make the blow more intensely fatal, the conspirators made arrangements with agents of the government authorities of Lower Canada, whereby a very large amount of British government bills, drawn on Quebec, were transmitted to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and offered on such advantageous terms that capitalists were induced to purchase them. By this means an immense amount of gold was transmitted to Canada, and so placed beyond the reach of the government of the United States and put into the hands of the enemy. Had the conspirators fully succeeded the national armies must have been disbanded, and our country might have been reduced to a dependency of Great Britain.

As we have observed, the favorite project of the administration continued to be the invasion and capture of Canada. For this purpose and for defence against invasion, the greater portion of the national troops were kept on the northern frontiers. The main British army in Canada, to defend it from invasion or to make aggressive movements as circumstances might dictate, was placed under the chief command of Lieutenant-General Drummond late in 1813, and he was stationed on the Niagara frontier. The command of the American army on that frontier was given to General Jacob Brown. General Wilkinson, who, with his troops, went down the St. Lawrence and into winter-quarters at French Mills late in the preceding year, remained there until near the close of February, 1814, when he broke up his encampment and marched with a part of the troops to Plattsburg on Lake Champlain. At the same time, General Brown with two thousand men, proceeded to Sackett's Harbor, preparatory to his departure for the Niagara River. Late in March, Wilkinson erected a battery at Rouse's Point, at the foot of Lake Champlain and on the border of Canada.

Wilkinson was informed that a considerable British force was about to be gathered at La Colle Mills, three or four miles below Rouse's Point. As he was preparing for a march on Montreal, he pressed forward toward La Colle with about four thousand men, on the 30th of March, to meet the approaching foe. He found there a stone mill, with heavy walls, strongly garrisoned with British regulars under Major Hancock, and learned that reinforcements were on the way. Wilkinson attempted to dislodge them before the arrival of the reinforcements, but did not succeed; and after a sharp engagement for about two hours, the Americans withdrew. The disastrous results of this affair (a loss of sixty-three men) brought Wilkinson into disrepute; and with this event his military career was ended. He was tried by a court-martial and acquitted, but he left the army. In the meantime the command of his troops had been given to General Izard.

During the winter and spring, the belligerents had been preparing to

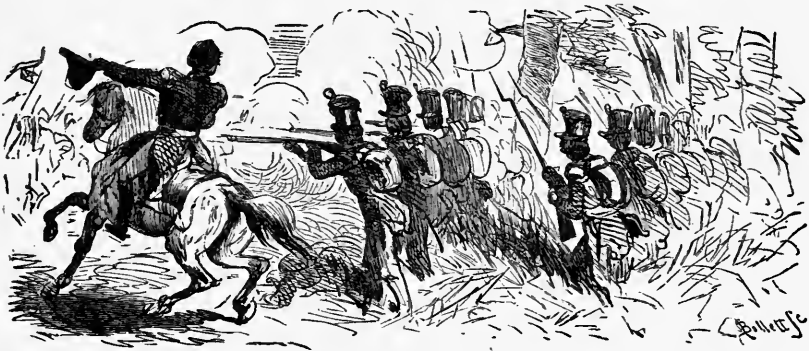
make a struggle for the mastery of Lake Ontario; and when the ice in Kingston harbor permitted vessels to leave it, Sir James Yeo went out upon the lake with a small British squadron and a force of about three thousand land troops and marines. On the 5th of May (1814) he appeared off Oswego, which was defended by a fort on a bluff on the east side of the harbor, with a garrison of only about three hundred men under Colonel Mitchell, and a small flotilla commanded by Captain Woolsey. Chauncey was then not quite ready to leave Sackett's Harbor. The object of the British was the seizure of a large quantity of provisions and naval stores at the Falls of the Oswego River, now the village of Fulton. They effected a landing, and after a sharp fight with the little garrison in the open field, the latter retired and the enemy took possession of the fort. The experience in that contest made the invaders cautious, and they did not venture to penetrate the country in quest of the coveted prize, but withdrew early on the morning of the 7th, bearing away with them as captives several citizens to whom they had promised protection.

On the first of July, General Brown was on the eastern bank of the Niagara River, at Buffalo, with a force competent, he thought, to carry out the orders of his government to invade Canada. His two brigades of infantry were commanded, respectively, by Generals Scott and Ripley; his artillery by Captains Towson and Hindman, and his small squadron of cavalry was led by Captain S. D. Harris. These were all regulars, and well equipped and disciplined. He had also a brigade of miscellaneous troops composed of New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, and between five and six hundred Indian warriors, embracing nearly the whole military force of the Six Nations remaining in the United States. The volunteers and Indians were commanded by General Peter B. Porter.

The first aggressive movement of the Americans was on the 3d of July, when Generals Scott and Ripley crossed the Niagara River to attack Fort Erie, situated on the Canada shore at the foot of Lake Erie, opposite Buffalo. It was the chief impediment in the way of an invasion of Canada in that quarter. But that impediment was soon removed by its capture. Scott crossed the river with several regiments and a corps of artillery, before the dawn of the 3d, and was followed by General Brown and his staff. At a later hour General Ripley crossed with some regiments, and the whole force invested the fort. Then Brown demanded its surrender, and at six o'clock the same evening, the American flag waved over it, and the garrison had been sent over the river prisoners-of-war.

Prompt measures were taken to secure the advantages gained by this victory; for it was known that General Riall, who was then the chief com-

mander on that frontier and an able officer, was moving toward Fort Erie. Early that morning, on hearing of the peril that impended over the fort, he had sent forward some of the Royal Scots to reinforce the garrison. At Chippewa they heard of the capture of the fort, when Riall determined to make an immediate attack on the Americans; but hearing that reinforcements from York were near, he postponed the attack until next morning. To meet this force, General Brown sent forward General Scott, with his brigade, accom-



BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA.

panied by Towsen's artillery, on the morning of the 4th of July. Ripley was ordered in the same direction with his brigade, but it was late in the afternoon before he was prepared to move. Scott went down the Canada side of the Niagara to a place a little more than a mile from Chippewa, driving back a British advanced detachment. The main portion of Brown's army reached Scott's encampment that night, and on the morning of the 5th the two belligerent armies were not more than two miles apart.

At noon on the 5th, Scott was joined by General Porter with his volunteers and Indians, and the British had also been reinforced. For some time the two armies felt of each other, when preliminary skirmishing was begun by General Porter with marked success. The Indians behaved gallantly on that occasion. Toward evening, Riall advanced with his whole force, and a desperate battle ensued between Street's Creek and Chippewa, in full view of the Niagara River. Finally a flank movement was made by Major McNeil with Campbell's regiment, and a terrific fire from a corps under Major Jesup, in the centre, made the British line give way. It broke and fled in haste toward the intrenchments below Chippewa Creek. The fugitives tore up the bridge over the creek that was behind them, leaving an impassable chasm between themselves and the Americans. The battle-field (opposite

the foot of Navy Island) was strewn with the dead and the dying. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded and missing, three hundred and fifty-five men. The British had lost by the same casualties, six hundred and four men, of whom two hundred and thirty-six were killed.

The horrors of that battle-field, on that hot July evening, were mitigated by a gentle shower of rain that came like a descending angel of mercy at the close of the conflict. Many a feverish lip was moistened by it, and many a throbbing temple was cooled. All night long the wounded of both armies were tenderly cared for, and the dead were speedily buried in shallow graves. Scott was eager to pursue, but was compelled to await the tardy movements of Ripley, who did not arrive in time to participate in the action and to join in a pursuit.

There was joy in the camp of the Americans that night, for they had gained a decisive and important victory—more important in its immediate results, perhaps, than any which had preceded it. The Indian allies of the British were disheartened. Their disaffection, begun at the Thames, was now complete. Nearly all the savages who had terrified the frontiers wherever there were military operations, now left the British army and returned to their homes. The victory also greatly inspirited the Americans, and recruiting became so active that almost any number of men might have been added to the army. It also gained for our American soldiers more of the genuine respect of the enemy than they had ever received; and it subdued the clamors of the mischievous Peace Faction.



CHAPTER XCIX.

Effects of the Battle of Chippewa—Movements of the Two Armies—Battle of Niagara Falls—Attack on Fort Erie—A Successful Sortie—The Americans Abandon Canada—Navies on Lake Champlain—Invasion of Northern New York—Battles on Land and Water at Plattsburg—Events on Lake Ontario—Expedition Against Mackinaw—McArthur's Raid—The New England Coasts Blockaded—Boston and New York Fortified by the People—British Repulsed at Stonington—Their Doings on the Penobscot.

UNTIL after the battle of Chippewa, English writers had indulged in sneers when alluding to our soldiers; and one of the most popular of the light theatrical performances in London was one in which the characters representing our military leaders were promoted tailors, shoemakers, etc. After that battle, in which an inferior number of Americans had won a decisive victory over British troops, the tone of British writers was changed. "The important fact is," wrote an English author, "that we have now got an enemy who fights as bravely as ourselves. For some time the Americans cut no figure on land. They have now proved to us that they only wanted time to acquire a little discipline. They have now proved to us what they are made of; that they are the same sort of men as those who captured whole armies under Burgoyne and Cornwallis; that they are neither to be frightened nor silenced."

General Brown was impatient to pursue the discomfited army, for he expected Chauncey, with a squadron at the mouth of the Niagara River, to co-operate with him. Much of the next and following days was spent in burying the dead and caring for the wounded; but before the morning of the 8th, a part of Brown's army had crossed the Chippewa in boats. Riall fled down the Niagara River to Queenstown, put some of his troops into Forts George and Mississauga, and established his head-quarters near the lake twenty miles westward. Drummond was mortified by this discomfiture of his veteran troops by what he deemed to be raw Americans, and he resolved to wipe out the stain. He drew most of the troops from York and Burlington Bay, Kingston and Prescott, with a determination to renew the conflict and drive the Americans out of Canada. With a force about one-third greater than that of Brown, he soon advanced to meet the invaders.

Meanwhile Brown, with his whole army, had pushed on to Queenstown and threatened Fort George. There he anxiously waited many days for the arrival of Chauncey's fleet, when, on the 22d of July, he received word that the commander was sick at Sackett's Harbor and his squadron was blockaded there. Abandoning all hope of co-operation from the navy, he ordered the army to fall back to the battle-ground of Chippewa, when their future movements would be governed by circumstances. They did not rest long, for on the 24th the alarming intelligence reached General Brown that Drummond had landed on the eastern shore of the Niagara River below Queenstown with a thousand troops, many of them Wellington's veterans; that a considerable British force occupied Queenstown, and that Riall had joined Drummond with his shattered regiments and a body of loyal Canadians.

Drummond had landed at Lewiston, opposite Queenstown, and Brown suspected his intention to be to seize the American stores at Schlosser. Impressed with this idea, he ordered Scott to march rapidly, with a part of the army, and menace the forts at the mouth of the Niagara River. Toward evening, Scott pushed on with his brigade, Towson's artillery and some mounted men, and saw some British officers leave a house at the verge of the great fall, leap into their saddles and ride rapidly away. Scott, believing only a remnant of the British army were near, dashed into the woods to disperse them, when he found Riall there with a larger force than he had at Chippewa. The peril of the American detachment was extreme. To stand still would be fatal; to retreat would be very hazardous, for it might create a panic in the main army and demoralize the whole. So Scott instantly resolved to fight the overwhelming force; and at sunset a desperate battle was begun, which ended at near midnight.

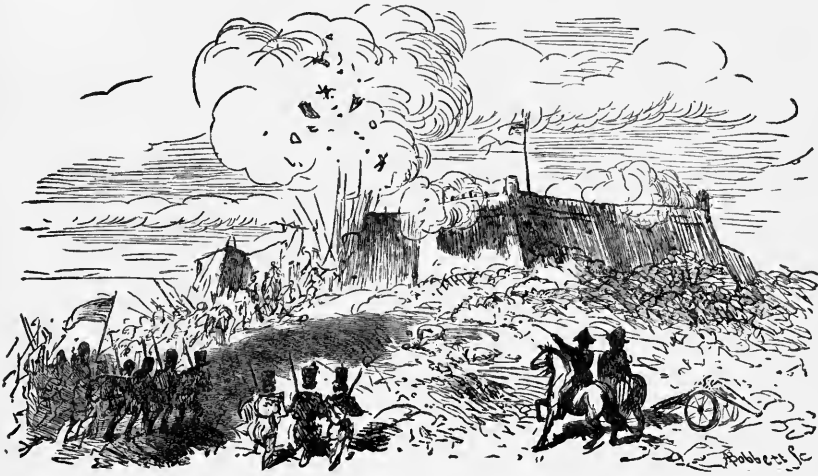
The British line which Scott encountered was eighteen hundred strong, posted in a slightly crescent form upon an eminence over which Lundy's Lane passed, and on which they had planted a battery. The quick eye of Scott soon discerned a blank between the enemy's left and the river; and he ordered Major Jesup, with his command, to crawl cautiously in the evening twilight through the underbrush that covered the space and turn the British left flank. Jesup obeyed, and was successful. He gained the British rear, and kept back reinforcements sent by Drummond. Meanwhile Scott was hotly engaged with Riall; and General Brown, when apprised of the situation by the booming of great guns and by messengers from the front, had pressed on with his whole army to the conflict. He perceived the key of the enemy's position to be their battery on the hill. Turning to Colonel James Miller of the Twenty-seventh, General Brown asked: "Can you

storm that work and take it?" Miller instantly replied, "I'll try." With three hundred men he moved stealthily up the hill in the darkness, along a fence shrouded in luxuriant bushes that hid them from the view of the gunners and their protectors who lay near. When within short musket-range of the battery, they could see the gunners, with their glowing lint-stocks, ready to act at the word fire. Selecting good marksmen, Miller directed each to rest his rifle on the fence, select a gunner, and fire at a given signal. They did so. The gunners fell, and Miller and his men rushed forward and captured the battery before the troops, stationed for its protection, could resist.

Miller's gallant exploit secured a victory, not, however, until a terrible hand-to-hand fight had ensued. The British finally fell back. They attempted to retake the battery of some splendid brass cannon, but failed, even after being reinforced by fifteen hundred men sent forward by Drummond from Queenstown. Meanwhile General Scott had been fighting desperately, but successfully, and was severely wounded by a musket-ball in his shoulder. General Brown was also severely wounded, and the command devolved on General Ripley. The British were repulsed and the Americans fell back to Chippewa, with orders from General Brown to return after a brief rest, before the dawn, and occupy the battle-field. The always tardy and disobedient Ripley failed to obey the order, and the enemy returned and took possession of the field and also of their battery, excepting one piece of artillery. This conflict is known in history as the battle of Niagara Falls, for it was fought within the sound of the sullen roar of the great cataract. It has also been called the battle of Bridgewater and the battle of Lundy's Lane. It was fought by about four thousand five hundred British troops, and two thousand six hundred Americans. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded and missing, nearly one-third of their whole number; the British lost about eight hundred and seventy-eight, or twenty-six more than the Americans. Both parties claimed the victory.

General Ripley, whose tardiness deprived the Americans of the advantages of a glorious victory they had won, led the army to Fort Erie, where he was soon superseded in command by General Gaines. Drummond, who had been wounded, pushed forward as soon as he was able, and on the 4th of August, began a siege of Fort Erie with about five thousand men. From the 7th to the 14th of that month there was an almost incessant cannonade between the besiegers and the besieged. On the evening of the 14th, just at twilight, a shell from a British mortar came screaming into the American camp, lodged in a nearly empty powder magazine and blew it up. Drummond, supposing he had fired one of the principal magazines, and believing

the camp and garrison to be in great confusion, determined to assail the fort in full force. Before the dawn of the 15th, fifteen hundred of the enemy furiously attacked the American lines, and after desperate fighting they gained a bastion of the fort. At all other points they were repulsed. To this stronghold the enemy held with tenacity, until the bastion was blown up with a terrific explosion. A jet of flame mingled with fragments of earth and timber, stones and the bodies of men, rose to the height of more than a hundred feet, and spread a shower of ruins to a great distance. Soon afterward the British broke and fled, and victory remained with the Americans.



FORT ERIE BASTION BLOWN UP.

For a month after this affair, both parties prepared to renew the struggle for the possession of Fort Erie. General Brown had recovered, and was in command of his army again. The fort was closely invested by the British; but Drummond's force, lying upon low ground, was greatly weakened by typhoid fever. Hearing of this, Brown determined to make a sortie from the fort. He did so on the 17th of September, and after a severe engagement (in which General Porter was the chief actor, and James Miller, then promoted to brigadier-general, bore a conspicuous part), the British advance works were captured and destroyed. Fort Erie was saved, and the enemy were driven back to Chippewa with a loss of about nine hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. "Thus," General Brown wrote to the Secretary of War, "one thousand regulars, and an equal proportion of militia, in one hour of close action, blasted the hopes of the enemy, destroyed the

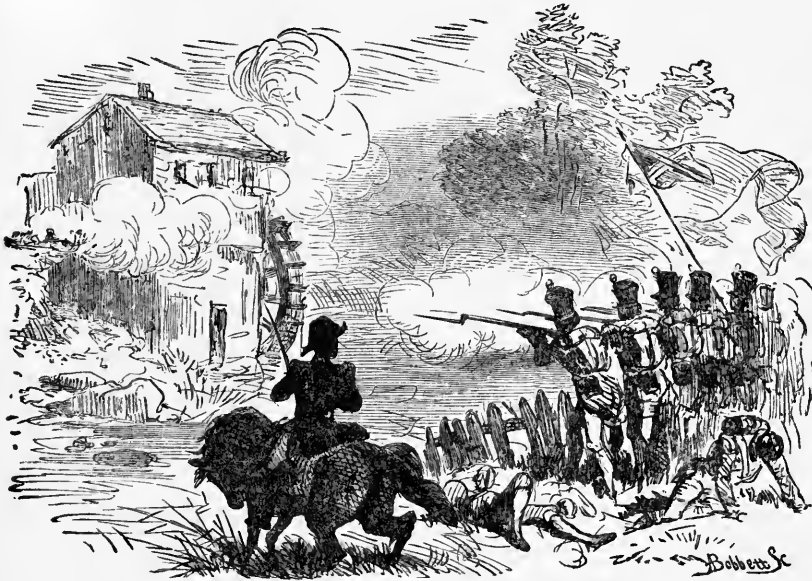
fruits of fifty days' labor, and diminished his effective force one thousand men at least." So sudden and precipitate was Drummond's flight, that he abandoned some of his stores in front of Fort Erie and destroyed others on the line of his retreat. This victory, following so closely on that at Chippewa and Niagara Falls, and occurring a few days after another won at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain by the Americans, and the expulsion of the British from Baltimore, diffused unusual joy throughout the country, and dispelled, in a measure, the gloom which had recently overspread the whole land because of the capture of the national capital by the enemy. General Brown was highly honored by Congress and the people. The former gave him thanks and a gold medal; and Scott, Ripley, Porter and Gaines received the same reward for their services during that campaign.

General George Izard, the successor of Wilkinson and Hampton in command of the army in Northern New York, who had led about five thousand troops first to Sackett's Harbor and then to the Niagara frontier, arrived at the latter in October, and, ranking Brown, took the chief command. The combined forces, regulars, militia and volunteers, numbered about eight thousand men. With these Izard was preparing to march against Drummond, when the latter prudently withdrew his troops to Fort George and Burlington Heights. Perceiving that further offensive operations on the Canadian peninsula would be imprudent, perhaps perilous, Izard blew up Fort Erie on the 5th of November, and it has lain in ruins ever since. He abandoned Canada, and the troops were wintered at several points in the State of New York.

When General Izard marched from Plattsburg for Sackett's Harbor in August, he left his troops that remained on the borders of Lake Champlain (nearly fifteen hundred in number) under the command of General Alexander Macomb. During the spring and summer, both parties had been busy in the preparation of war-vessels on that lake, and the command of the American squadron was held by Captain Thomas Macdonough. Many of Wellington's troops, as we have observed, had arrived in Canada. There were about fifteen thousand of them at Montreal at the close of August, and Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada and general-in-chief, proceeded to invade New York. A requisition had been made by Izard for militia and light dragoons; and Macomb found himself in command of about three thousand five hundred troops at the beginning of September. These he conducted to Plattsburg, in anticipation of the threatened invasion.

Prevost advanced at the head of about fourteen thousand troops, to a point eight miles from Plattsburg; and at the same time the British squadron, under Captain Pringle, moved out of the Sorel into Lake Champlain.

Prevost announced his intention to seize and hold Northern New York as far down as Ticonderoga, and he called upon the inhabitants to cast off their allegiance and furnish him with supplies. Meanwhile Macomb bent all his energies in preparation for a defence of the menaced region. He had completed redoubts and block-houses at Plattsburg, to prevent the invaders crossing the Saranac River. General Benjamin Mooers, in command of the militia, had been very active at the same time; and when Prevost advanced, he was at the head of about five thousand men.



REPULSE AT THE STONE MILL.

On the morning of the 6th of September, the British moved upon Plattsburg in two columns. One column had a severe skirmish near Beekmantown, with regulars and militia under Captain Wool. The latter were compelled to fall back to Plattsburg; and other detachments sent out by Macomb were forced back by an overwhelming number of the enemy. The Americans retired to the south side of the Saranac, tearing up the bridges behind them and using the timbers for breastworks. The British tried to force their way across the stream, when they were repulsed by a small company of volunteers in a stone mill near the site of the lower bridge, who poured sharp volleys of musketry upon them. Prevost saw that his invasion was not to be a pleasant holiday affair, and he employed the time from the

7th until the 11th in bringing up his batteries and supply trains and constructing works to command those of the Americans on the south side of the Saranac. Meanwhile the British naval force, under Commodore Downie, had approached Cumberland Head. The flag-ship was the frigate *Confiance*, 38, which was assisted by one brig, two sloops, and twelve gun-boats. Macdonough's squadron lay in Plattsburg Bay. His flag-ship was the *Saratoga*, 26, which was assisted by one brig, two schooners, and ten gun-boats or galleys.

On the morning of the 11th, the British came round Cumberland Head with a fair wind, and at the same time the land forces of the enemy were moving for a combined attack upon the Americans on land and water. The battle was opened by the navy. Macdonough (then thirty-one years of age) had skillfully prepared his forces to meet the enemy. When his vessels were cleared for action, he knelt upon the deck of the *Saratoga*, near one of her heaviest guns, and with his chief officers around him, implored the aid of the Almighty. Very soon afterward the thunders of cannon boomed over the lake, and a sharp naval conflict was begun. At the outset, a shot from a British vessel demolished a hen-coop on board the *Saratoga*, when a young game-cock, which the sailors had brought from the shore, released from confinement and startled by the sound of the great guns, flew up on a gun-slide, and, flapping its wings, crowed lustily and defiantly. The incident was regarded by the sailors as ominous of victory, and thereby their courage was strengthened. In a rhyming *Epistle of Brother Jonathan to Johnny Bull*, written at the close of the war, is the following allusion to this event:

"O, Johnny Bull, my Joe, John,
Behold on Lake Champlain,
With more than equal force, John,
You tried your fist again ;
But the cock saw how 'twas going,
And cried cock-a-doodle-doo !
And Macdonough was victorious
O, Johnny Bull, my Joe."

'This naval battle lasted two hours and twenty minutes, and ended with victory for the Americans. The vessels were dreadfully shattered. "There was not a mast in either squadron," Macdonough wrote, "that could stand to make a sail on." "Our masts, yards and sails, were so shattered," wrote one of the officers of the *Confiance*, "that one looked like so many bundles of matches, and the other like so many bundles of rags." The sight of the conflict was sublime, and it was witnessed by hundreds of spectators on the headlands of the Vermont shore. The loss of the Americans was one hun-

dred and ten; that of the British was over two hundred. Among the British slain was Commodore Downie, whose remains were buried at Plattsburg.

While the battle was raging on the water, there was a sharp conflict on land. When the British squadron came around Cumberland Head, the British army moved forward and attempted to force their way across the Saranac at the sites of the two bridges. After a desperate but short conflict, with varying fortunes for both parties, the British were repulsed by the gallant men led by Macomb and Mooers. The Americans were driving back some of the enemy who had forced their way across the river near the site of the upper bridge, when tidings came that the British fleet had just surrendered. The Americans gave hearty cheers, and the enemy wavered. Prevost was disheartened by the disaster to the navy, and, naturally timid in the presence of danger, saw with alarm the gathering of the neighboring militia, who threatened his flanks and rear. He ceased fighting at twilight, and prepared for a retreat. At a little past midnight he fled in such haste toward Canada, that he left his sick and wounded and a vast amount of stores behind. Light troops, militia and volunteers, started in pursuit, but heavy rains compelled them to give up the chase. The British loss, in killed, wounded and deserted, from the 6th to the 11th, was about twenty-five hundred men; that of the Americans, only one hundred and twenty. Throughout the land the victory was applauded with the greatest enthusiasm, and Macomb and Macdonough were highly honored, each having a gold medal awarded to him by Congress.

With the flight of Prevost and his army from Lake Champlain ended the military movements of importance on the northern frontier. Hostilities soon afterward ceased, as we have observed, on the Niagara frontier; and during a greater portion of the season Commodore Chauncey, one of the most vigilant and active of naval officers, had been compelled by circumstances to remain almost inactive at Sackett's Harbor. He was blockaded by a British squadron; and when he was ready to go out and fight the blockaders, by having the armament of a large vessel completed, he was prostrated by severe illness. It was the last of July before his squadron was fully ready for sea. On the 31st of that month he was carried, in a convalescent state on board of his flag-ship, the *Superior*, and the squadron sailed out on a cruise. It blockaded the harbor of Kingston, and Chauncey vainly tried to draw Sir James Yeo out for combat. At the close of September, Chauncey was informed that the *St. Lawrence*, a frigate pierced for one hundred and twelve guns, which had been built at Kingston, was ready for sea, when the commodore prudently raised the blockade and returned to

Sackett's Harbor. The *St. Lawrence* sailed in October with more than a thousand men, accompanied by other vessels-of-war; and with his big ship, Sir James was really lord of the lake. The Americans determined to match the *St. Lawrence*, and the keels of two first-class frigates were laid. One of them, the *New Orleans*, began at Sackett's Harbor and partly finished when peace came early in 1815, may yet be seen housed on the stocks as she was left by the builders very nearly ninety years ago. Chauncey expected Yeo would attack his squadron in the Harbor, but he did not; and when frost had closed the lake, the war ended on the northern frontier.

We have observed that the military-station on the island of Mackinaw was captured by the British just before the fall of Detroit in 1812. This station was the key to the vast fur-trade of the Northwest, and a land and naval expedition was planned, in the spring of 1814, for its recapture. A little squadron under Commander St. Clair, and a land force led by Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan of Fort Stephenson fame, were prepared, and they left Detroit at the beginning of July. A part of this force proceeded against the post of the Northwest Fur Company, at the Falls of St. Mary, the agents of which were among the most active of the British emissaries in inciting the Indians to make war on the Americans. When the armament appeared before the post, the keepers of it fled. Everything valuable that could not be carried away was destroyed, when the whole expedition started for Mackinaw. The post there was too strongly garrisoned to be taken by this small American force, and after an attempt to do so, the enterprise was abandoned. Some vessels of the squadron cruised in those waters for a time, and after some exciting experiences the expedition returned to Detroit late in August, 1814. No further military movements were undertaken in that region afterward, excepting a terrifying raid which General McArthur, with about seven hundred mounted men from Kentucky and Ohio, made through western Canada, to create a diversion in favor of the American army on the Niagara frontier. It was one of the boldest operations of the war, on land. McArthur skurried throughout the region from the western end of Lake Ontario to the Detroit River, destroying property that might benefit the enemy, frightening the people everywhere, and keeping the militia from joining Drummond's ranks.

While the events recorded in this chapter were securing the northern frontiers of the Union, and the general results were inspiring to the Americans, there was uneasiness, confusion, and alarm along the Atlantic seaboard, in consequence of the presence of British blockading squadrons and menacing fleets. New England had experienced very little of actual war within its borders so far, yet it felt its pressure heavily in the paralysis of

its peculiar industries, the continued drain upon its wealth of men and money, and the wasting excitement caused by continually impending menaces and a sense of insecurity. From the spring of 1813 to the close of the contest, British squadrons were hovering along its coasts, and, in connection with the Embargo acts, were double-barring its seaports against commerce, and threatening the destruction of its maritime cities and villages.

The year 1814 was a peculiarly trying one for New England. The blockade of New London, began in 1813, was kept up until the close of the war. In the spring of 1814, Commodore Lewis appeared in Long Island Sound with thirteen American gun-boats, to protect the coast trade of Connecticut against British privateers. He convoyed merchant-vessels safely into the Thames, and he boldly attacked the blockading squadron there. Early in June, British vessels began depredations on the coast of Massachusetts, under an order issued by Admiral Cochrane to "destroy the seaport towns and devastate the country." At Wareham, on Buzzard's Bay, they destroyed vessels and other property valued at \$40,000. In the same month despoilers appeared on the coast of Maine. Fifty armed men, in five large barges, entered the Saco River and destroyed property to the amount of about \$20,000. New Bedford and Fair Haven were threatened by British cruisers; and an unsuccessful attempt was made by the commanders of two blockaders there, to destroy the last-named village and seize the fort on the point, then commanded by Lieutenant Selleck Osborne, the poet. Formidable squadrons blockaded the Delaware, New York, New London, and Boston. Eastport and Castin, in Maine, were captured by the British; and Stonington, a little east of New London, became the scene of stirring events.

Early in July (1814) Sir Thomas M. Hardy sailed from Halifax with a considerable force for service on sea and land, in accordance with the orders of Cochrane. The country from Passamaquoddy Bay to the Penobscot speedily passed under British rule, and continued so until the end of the war. After capturing Eastport, Hardy sailed westward and threatened Portsmouth and other places, and an attack upon Boston was confidently expected. That city was almost defenceless, and would have offered a rich harvest for plunderers. It was the place where ships were built for the war; and being the capital of New England, its capture would have a moral effect much to be desired by the enemy. When real danger impended, the inhabitants were aroused to intense action, and men of all classes were seen with implements of labor working daily in the construction of a strong fort on Noddles' Island, now East Boston. "I remember," wrote one of the eye-witnesses, "the venerable Dr. Lathrop, with the deacons and elders of his

church, each shouldering his shovel and doing yeoman's service in digging, shoveling, and carrying sods in wheel-barrows." The fort was soon built on an elevation (on the crown of the present Webster street, near Belmont square, East Boston), and a heavy battery was planted on Dorchester Heights. Informed of these preparations and the enthusiasm of the people, the British blockading squadron did not venture to enter the harbor of Boston.



CITIZENS AT WORK ON FORTIFICATIONS.

New York was equally excited, when news came of the operations of a powerful British squadron in Chesapeake Bay. This city was, like Boston, almost defenceless. De Witt Clinton, then mayor, issued a stirring appeal to the citizens, and there, too, men of every rank in society worked daily in building fortifications at Brooklyn and Harlem. Members of various churches and of social and benevolent organizations went out in groups, as such, to the patriotic task; so also did different craftsmen under their respective banners, such as were described as follows, by Samuel Woodworth: "Plumbers, founders, dyers, tanners, shavers, sweeps, clerks and criers, jewellers, engravers, clothiers, drapers, players, cartmen, hatters, tailors, gaugers, sealers, weighers, carpenters, and sailors."

The enthusiasm of the people was intense, and New York was soon well defended by fortifications and numerous militia. The citizens then felt secure, and Woodworth concluded a stirring poem with these lines addressed to the British :

“Better not invade ; recollect the spirit
Which our dads displayed and their sons inherit.
If you still advance, friendly caution slighting,
You may get, by chance, a belly-full of fighting.
Pick-axe, shovel, spade, crowbar, hoe and barrow,—
Better not invade ; Yankees have the marrow.”

Hardy rejoined the blockading squadron off the mouth of the Thames and proceeded to execute Cochrane's terrible order, yet with reluctance on his part, for he was a humane officer. Great Britain had determined to make the war sharp and decisive, and this order to injure innocent people was a part of the plan. On the 9th of August, Hardy appeared before Stonington with three large vessels and a bomb-ship. He sent word to the magistrates of the borough that he intended to destroy the village, and gave the inhabitants one hour in which to leave it. He would grant no alternative, and the magistrates replied : “We shall defend the place to the last extremity ; should it be destroyed, we will perish in its ruins.” Nearly all the inhabitants incapable of bearing arms left the place ; and that evening the bomb-ship *Terror* and some launches rained shells and rockets upon the village without doing serious damage.

During that bombardment some bold spirits in Stonington cast up a sort of redoubt on the extremity of the peninsula on which the borough stands, and placed upon it, in battery, 6-pound and 18-pound iron cannon ; and from these they hurled solid balls upon the assailants with so much effect, that the bomb-ship and her consorts withdrew to the larger vessels. Some men gathered at Stonington the next day, but they were of little service ; but a few brave men from Mystic, led by Captain Jeremiah Holmes, flew to the aid of their neighbors, and did gallant service at the redoubt. Captain Holmes, who was a good gunner, took charge of the 18-pounder, and with it he fought the ships of the enemy until his ammunition was exhausted and no more could be found. Then the borough seemed to be completely at the mercy of the invaders, and some timid citizens proposed to the captain to haul down the American flag that floated over the battery and surrender. “No !” shouted the captain, “that flag shall never come down while I am alive !” and it did not, in submission to a foe. When the wind died away and it hung drooping by the side of the staff, the brave captain held out the flag at the point of a bayonet that the British might see it.

While it was in that position, several shots passed through it. To prevent its being struck by some coward, the captain nailed it to the staff.

The old cannon was not long silent. Some powder was found in a place of concealment. Double-shotting his piece, the captain kept the enemy at bay until a competent force of militia, under General Isham, were collected to prevent the British landing; and on the 12th, after a sharp bombardment, the blockading squadron, discomfited, withdrew. Not a single life had been lost in the village during the assault, and but one person was mortally and fifty or sixty were slightly wounded. About forty buildings were more or less injured, and two or three were nearly ruined.



HOLDING UP THE FLAG.

We have observed that the region between Passamaquoddy Bay and the Penobscot was seized and held by the British. That was after Hardy captured Eastport. A strong squadron under Admiral Griffith, bearing about four thousand troops led by Governor Sherbrooke of Nova Scotia, captured Castin on Penobscot Bay and also Belfast, and went up the Penobscot River to Hampden, a few miles below Bangor, to capture or destroy the American corvette *John Adams*, which, caught in that stream, had gone up so far to escape from the enemy. The militia along the Penobscot gathered at the call of General John Blake, who, with the cannon of the *Adams* posted on a hill, prepared to defend the vessel and the country. But when the British troops landed at Hampden, the militia broke

and fled. The *Adams* was burned by her commander, Captain Morris, and the troops after taking possession of the village, pushed on to Bangor. There, in the course of a stay of about thirty hours, they destroyed several vessels, plundered the inhabitants of property valued at over \$20,000, and retired to Hampden to repeat this conduct there. Then the troops and fleet descended the Penobscot and, after capturing Machias, returned to Halifax, leaving General Gosselin at Castin to hold the country, which he did with dignity and humanity.



CHAPTER C.

Threatened Dangers Unheeded—Weakness of the National Capital—Tardiness of the Government—Barney's Flotilla—Preparations to Defend the Capital—Battle at Bladensburg—Flight of Civil Officers—Mrs. Madison—Destruction of Property at Washington—Alexandria Plundered—The British before Baltimore—Battle of North Point—Bombardment of Fort McHenry—Repulse of the British—"The Star-Spangled Banner"—Naval Operations—Privateers—Change in the Theatre of Operations.

WHILE the stirring events just mentioned were occurring on the northern frontier and the New England coast, others of equal importance took place in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay and the national capital. The Americans had premonition of a determination on the part of the British government to prosecute the war with great vigor. Tokens of danger to the region alluded to were not wanting. First came intelligence, late in January, 1814, that four thousand British troops destined for the United States had landed at Bermuda. This news was followed by the appearance of Admiral Cockburn again in Lynn Haven Bay at the beginning of March, with a strong naval force, to recommence the work laid out by Admiral Cochrane's order to "destroy the seaport towns and ravage the country." At the close of April, a ship from Europe brought an account of the downfall of Napoleon, and soon afterward came the announcement of his abdication, which would probably release a large British force for service in America—a fact that was speedily made manifest in Canada, as we have seen.

At that time the national capital was not prepared for defence against an invasion by land or water. The passage of ships up the Potomac might be disputed only by the guns of Fort Washington on the Maryland side of the river, a few miles below Washington city; but there was little to obstruct the passage of a land force across Maryland from the Chesapeake. On the first of July official intelligence reached the President that "a fleet of transports, with a large force, bound to some port of the United States, probably on the Potomac," was about to sail from Bermuda. In the fourth military district of which the District of Columbia formed a part,

there were only a little more than two thousand effective men under General Winder, and these were scattered at points distant from each other, some as far away as Norfolk. Besides these, there were a company of marines at the barracks in Washington, and a company of artillery in Fort Washington. With a knowledge of this weakness, and the positive signs of impending danger, the government could not be persuaded that the capital would receive any harm. The government organ (*National Intelligencer*) boastingly declared, "We have no idea of the enemy attempting to reach the vicinity of the capes; and if he does, we have no doubt he will meet with such a reception as he had a sample of at Craney Island. The enemy knows better than to trust himself abreast of or on this side of Fort Washington." The folly of this overweening confidence was soon made conspicuous by sad events.

General Winder continually warned the government of danger, and called loudly for troops; and when danger was apparent to the authorities, he was placed, by official orders, at the head of fifteen thousand militia for the defence of the capital. But there was extraordinary tardiness everywhere. The militia lay hidden in official orders; and when, at the middle of August, a powerful British land and naval force appeared in Chesapeake Bay, and there was widespread alarm over Maryland and Virginia, Winder had only a handful of men with whom to defend the capital.

At that juncture Commodore Barney, with an armed schooner and thirteen armed barges, was in the Patuxent River. He had been chased out of Chesapeake Bay and blockaded. The flotilla went far up the Patuxent, out of reach of British vessels, to a position where its men might assist either Baltimore or Washington, whichever city the enemy should decide to attack. The British determined to capture or destroy this flotilla, and for that purpose more than five thousand regulars, marines and negroes, were landed at Benedict, with three cannon. The British commander boasted that they should wipe out Barney's force, and dine in Washington city the next Sunday. This determination of the enemy being known, great exertions were put forth for the defence of the capital. The obstinate Secretary of War (Armstrong), who had disregarded Winder's warnings, now gave him full authority to exercise his judgment in the matter of defending the capital. Winder called upon General Smith of Baltimore to bring out his division of militia, and General Van Ness was requested to station two brigades of the militia of the District of Columbia at Alexandria. He also called for volunteers from all the militia districts of Maryland. These measures the alarmed Secretary of War approved, and General Smith promptly responded.

Meanwhile the British had pressed forward in barges in pursuit of Barney, who blew up his flotilla at Pig Point, and with his soldiers hastened to the head-quarters of Winder. Finding the American flotilla a smoking ruin, General Ross, the commander of the British land forces and one of the most active of Wellington's officers, marched to Upper Marlborough with the troops, where a road led directly to Washington city, leaving Cockburn in charge of the British flotilla. To oppose this strong force Winder had less than three thousand effective men, most of them undisciplined; and he prudently retreated toward Washington, followed by Ross (who had been joined by Cockburn and his seamen), on the afternoon of the 23d. The British encamped that night within ten miles of the capital, where great excitement prevailed and sleepless watching by soldiers and civilians was the rule. Uncertain whether Washington city or Fort Washington was the destination of the foe, Winder had left a force near Bladensburg, about four miles from the capital, and with other troops he watched the highways leading in other directions.

The President and his cabinet did not sleep that night, and on the morning of the 24th, while Winder was in consultation with them, a courier came in great haste to tell them that the British were marching on Bladensburg. Winder immediately sent troops to join those already there, and he speedily followed in person. His little army was evidently in great peril, for the invaders had overwhelming numbers. He must either fight or surrender, for to retreat would be equally perilous. He chose to fight, and at a little past noon a sharp battle began in sight of the village of Bladensburg. The militia soon broke and fled in confusion; and the brave Barney and his gallant men, who stood fire, sustained the brunt of the battle until that leader was severely wounded, when Winder, seeing no sign of a hope of winning a victory, ordered a general retreat. The troops which had not already dispersed, retreated toward Montgomery Court-House, in Maryland, leaving the battle-field in possession of the invaders. The latter had gained the advantage at the fearful cost of the loss of more than five hundred men in killed and wounded, among them several officers of distinction. The battle lasted almost four hours, when it was ended and the retreat began. President Madison, Secretary of State Monroe, Secretary of War Armstrong and other civil officers, who went out to see the fight and give assistance if possible, hastened back to the city as fast as fleet horses could carry them, and were the pioneers of a considerable multitude who followed. This race created much merriment afterward, especially among the opposition. A writer in a New York newspaper said: "Should some Walter Scott [his Marmion was then very popular] in the next century write a poem and call

it *Madison, or the Battle of Bladensburg*, we should suggest the following lines for the conclusion :

“Fly, Monroe, fly ! run, Armstrong, run !
Were the last words of Madison.”

The President and his party of fugitives announced the startling intelligence that the British, victorious, were probably marching on



MRS. DOLLY PAYNE MADISON.

the town. Mrs. Madison, at the White House, had already been apprised of danger, by a messenger sent by her husband, when the militia fled. She had ordered her carriage to be at the door ready for flight, and had sent away to a place of safety silver-plate and other valuable articles. While anxiously waiting for her husband, and at the moment when she had cut out of the frame, for preservation, a full length portrait of Washington by Stuart, the late Jacob Barker and another gentleman entered the house and bade her fly, for the enemy were near. “Save that picture !” she said, as it lay prone upon the floor ; “save or destroy it, but do not let it fall into the hands of the British.” Then snatching up the precious parchment on which the Declaration of Independence was written, and which contained the names of the fifty-six signers of that document,

she entered her carriage with her sister and one or two others, and was borne away to a place of safety beyond the Potomac. The picture was saved, and it now adorns one of the reception-rooms in the White House.

The British entered Washington on the evening of the 24th (August, 1814), and at once proceeded to plunder and destroy. The Capitol, President’s house, Treasury buildings, Arsenal and barracks were burned, and of the public buildings only the Patent-office was saved. Some private houses

were plundered and others were burned. While these buildings were blazing in the city, the public vessels and other government property at the Navy-Yard were in flames, for Commodore Tingey, who was in command there, had been ordered to destroy this property in case it was likely to fall into the hands of the invaders. The value of the property destroyed by the Americans and British at that time, was estimated at about two million



SAVING THE PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

dollars. Right-minded Englishmen deplored the barbarism of their troops in burning the national buildings. "Willingly," said the London *Statesman* newspaper, "would we throw a veil of oblivion over our transactions at Washington. The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the capital of America." While the people of England loudly condemned the act, the British government caused the tower-guns to be fired in honor of Ross's victory; and on his death a few weeks later, his government decreed him a monument in Westminster Abbey.

The events at Washington caused intense excitement throughout the country. The disaster was followed by another humiliating occurrence, and then by a glorious triumph. While Ross was crossing Maryland to the national capital a part of the British fleet, under Commodore Gordon, had gone up the Potomac River, and in defiance of the guns of Fort Washington, appeared before Alexandria on the evening of the 27th. Meanwhile the British at Washington, apprehending a large gathering of the militia, had stolen away from the capital very secretly on the night of the 25th, and re-embarked on their transports. Alexandria was almost defenceless; and when Gordon demanded an enormous amount of property as a ransom for the doomed city from destruction, the town and its inhabitants were at the mercy of the invaders. The inhabitants were allowed only an hour to consider the terms. Of course they had to submit; and the British squadron sailed down the river with a large amount of plunder, annoyed some of the way by the batteries planted on the shores.

While Washington was suffering, Baltimore was threatened. Indeed all the shores of the Chesapeake Bay were menaced with plunder and devastation. After resting and recruiting several days at the mouth of the Patuxent, the British sailed for the mouth of the Patapsco River, on the banks of which Baltimore stands, ten miles from the Chesapeake. The fleet spread terror along the entire coasts of the bay, the people fleeing from their dwellings; and at every light-house and signal-station alarm-guns were fired. On Sunday, the 11th of September, the British vessels appeared off Patapsco Bay, having at least six thousand fighting men on board; and victorious Ross boasted that he would make Baltimore his winter-quarters. It was a city of forty thousand inhabitants at that time. It had sent out so many clipper-built vessels as privateers, that the British held a grudge against the place, and resolved to capture or destroy it.

The citizens of Baltimore, wiser than those of some other places, had cast up defences before the enemy were at their doors. When they heard of the capture of Washington, they turned out in force to strengthen these defences. A large number of troops were gathered around the city. Fort McHenry, that commands the harbor, was garrisoned by about a thousand men, under Major Armistead, and was supported by redoubts. Such were the preparations for receiving the enemy, who, that evening (September 11, 1814,) appeared off Patapsco Bay, and before sunrise on the 12th had landed, nine thousand strong, at North Point, twelve miles from Baltimore. At the same time the fleet entered the harbor to attack Fort McHenry. When news came that the British were landing on North Point, General Smith, who had about nine thousand men under his command, sent

General Stricker, with more than three thousand of them, to watch the enemy and act as circumstances might require.

Feeling confident of success, Ross and Cockburn were riding gayly in front of their troops, who were marching on Baltimore, when a rifle-ball from a small number of Stricker's advance troops, concealed in a hollow, mortally wounded the general. Ross died before his bearers could reach the



GENERAL ROSS MORTALLY WOUNDED.

boats, living only long enough "to name his wife and to commend his family to the care of his country." The command now devolved upon Colonel Brooke, who pressed forward and met Stricker's advance troops seven or eight miles from Baltimore. There a severe engagement occurred lasting about two hours, when Stricker ordered a retreat to his reserve corps. There he re-formed his brigade and fell steadily back toward the city, as far as Worthington's Mill, where he was joined by General Winder with some fresh troops. The British bivouacked on the battle-field that night.

Early on the morning of the 12th, frigates, schooners, sloops, bomb-ketches and rocket-vessels entered the harbor of Baltimore and moved up toward Fort McHenry. They anchored out of reach of its moderate-sized guns until evening. Then the fleet were so disposed as to bombard Fort McHenry and batteries not far off on the next morning, when Brooke should move forward with the land forces to attack the city. At the time specified the bomb-vessels opened a heavy fire upon the American works. Armistead immediately opened the batteries of Fort McHenry upon the fleet, but his missiles falling short, were harmless. The garrison was exposed to a tremendous shower of shells for several hours, without power to check the firing of the antagonist. Finally, to the delight of Armistead, the bomb-vessels moved nearer the fort to make their shells more effective, when his turn came for inflicting injury. He ordered a cannonade and bombardment from every part of the fort. The intruders were punished so severely that in the course of half an hour they withdrew to their former anchorage very much bruised.

All that day and the following night—twenty-five hours—the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry. Meanwhile Colonel Brooke, with the land forces, had been trying to reach Baltimore, but was foiled by Stricker and Winder. On the evening of the 13th, finding it impossible to accomplish his object, and learning that the bombardment had very little effect, Brooke obtained an interview with Cochrane, when they concluded that the efforts of the combined forces to capture Baltimore was already a failure. They resolved to relinquish the enterprise, and the bombardment suddenly ceased early on the morning of the 14th. The troops had begun their retreat in a heavy rain and intense darkness, at three o'clock that morning. They were taken on board the fleet the same evening; and on the morning of the 15th, the entire land and naval forces of the invaders went down the bay crest-fallen and badly punished. This discomfiture of the enemy made the alarmed citizens of Philadelphia and New York breathe freer.

This gallant defence of Baltimore revived the spirits of the Americans, which were drooping because of the sad events at their capital. The disappointment of the enemy was very great. After the capture of Washington, Ross felt that the taking of Baltimore would be like a holiday pastime. Sir George Prevost postponed public rejoicing at Montreal because of the capture of Washington, until the capture of Baltimore should be accomplished, when both events might be celebrated at the same time. On the very day when Ross anchored off North Point (September 11, 1814), Prevost was vanquished at Plattsburg, and made to fly back to Canada.

When the British retreated to their ships from Washington, they carried

with them Dr. Beans, a beloved physician of Upper Marlborough, as a prisoner. Francis S. Key, a gentleman of culture and great affability of manner, consented to go with a flag to the British squadron, and endeavor to procure the release of Beans. Key went with Mr. Skinner of Baltimore, and found the fleet at the mouth of the Potomac. As the invaders were preparing to attack Baltimore, they refused to allow either of the three to return then, and they witnessed the bombardment of Fort McHenry from one of the British ships with the greatest anxiety, especially on the night of the 13th. The fort was silent, and they did not know whether it had surrendered or not. In the dim light of early morning their hearts were gladdened, for they saw that "our flag was still there." It was while pacing the deck of the British vessel in great anxiety, that Key composed that song, "The Star-Spangled Banner," which immortalized him. When the ships withdrew, Key and his friends were restored to liberty.

The naval operations on the sea, though not so important in immediate results as those of the two preceding years, fully sustained the character of the American war marine. Several new war-vessels were built and sent to sea during the first half of that year. The *John Adams*, which was cut down to a corvette of 28 guns, late in 1813, started on a cruise from the Washington Navy-Yard, under the command of Captain Morris, early in 1814, and eluding the blockading fleet in Lynn Haven Bay, went to sea. Her cruise was unsuccessful, and in August, with a sick crew and a damaged vessel, Captain Morris went into the Penobscot River, where he destroyed the corvette to prevent her falling into the hands of the British. In May of that year, Captain Johnston Blakely crossed the ocean in the *Wasp*, 18, and spread terror, like the *Argus*, among the shipping in the British channel. On the 28th of June, after a conflict of half an hour, the *Wasp* captured the British sloop *Reindeer*, and as she was a wreck, Blakely burned her. On the first of September, the *Wasp* had a sharp engagement in intense darkness, and compelled her antagonist, the *Avon*, to surrender. Three consorts of the *Avon* coming up, compelled the *Wasp* to relinquish her prize. She afterward captured several prizes; but during that autumn she was lost somewhere, with all her people, for she was never heard of afterward.

In March, 1814, the sloop-of-war *Peacock*, 18, Captain Warrington, sailed on a cruise from New York, and on the 29th of April she had a severe conflict of forty minutes with the *Epervier*, 18, and captured her. She was a valuable prize, having \$118,000 in specie on board, and the vessel sold for \$55,000. In another cruise to the shores of Portugal, the *Peacock* captured fourteen vessels and returned to New York in October. When Bainbridge relinquished the command of the *Constitution*, 44, in 1813, she was thor-

oughly repaired. She went to sea again under the command of Captain Charles Stewart, late in 1813, and early in February following she was on the coast of Surinam. On the 14th of that month she captured the *Picton*, 16, and returning to the New England coast early in April, she was chased into the harbor of Marblehead by two powerful British frigates. The *Constitution* afterward went to Salem and thence to Boston, where she remained until December, 1814. At the close of that month she put to sea, crossed the Atlantic to the Bay of Biscay, and then cruised off the harbor of Lisbon. Stewart sailed southward toward Cape St. Vincent, and on the 20th of February, 1815, he discovered two strange sails, which, toward evening, flung out the British flag, when he displayed the American colors. By skillful management, he secured an advantageous position, when he began an action with both of them; and after a severe combat, he captured both of them. One of these vessels was the frigate *Cyane*, 36, and the other was the sloop *Levant*, 18. In this engagement the *Constitution* was so little damaged, that three hours after the battle she was ready for another. These exploits of the *Constitution* were performed after peace had been proclaimed. After one or two more stirring adventures, Stewart crossed the Atlantic, landed many of his prisoners on the coast of Brazil, and at Porto Rico he first heard of the proclamation of peace. He arrived at New York at the middle of May, and gave the first intelligence of the capture of the *Cyane* and *Levant*. Honors were showered upon him. Congress gave him thanks and a gold medal. The Common Council of the city of New York gave him the freedom of the city in a gold box and honored him with a public banquet, and the Legislature of Pennsylvania presented him, in the name of the State, with a gold-hilted sword. The *Constitution* was ever afterward known as *Old Ironsides*, and Stewart bore the same title until his death in November, 1869, when he was in the ninety-second year of his age.

In the summer of 1814, Commodore Decatur, whose vessels had been long blockaded in the Thames, above New London, was transferred to the command of the *President*, and a little squadron composed of his flag-ship the *Peacock*, Captain Warrington; the *Hornet*, Captain Biddle; and the *Tom Bowline*, store-ship. The destination of the squadron was the East Indies, to spread havoc among the British shipping there. The *President* left her moorings first, and eluding the blockaders off Sandy Hook, put to sea. She had not proceeded far before she was chased by four British ships-of-war. Heavily laden for a long cruise, she could not sail fast, and after a protracted chase and running fight she was compelled to strike her colors. Decatur delivered his sword to Captain Hayes of the *Majestic*, the first vessel that came alongside the *President* after she struck.

Late in January, the remainder of Decatur's squadron put to sea, their commander being ignorant of the fate of the flag-ship. The commodore had designated one of a group of islands in the South Atlantic Ocean as the place of rendezvous, and toward this the squadron sailed. The *Peacock* and *Tom Bowline* arrived there early in March, but were driven away by a storm; the *Hornet* was about to cast anchor there on the 23d of March, when a strange vessel was discerned near. Biddle spread his sails and went seaward to reconnoitre. The stranger was the British sloop *Penguin*, 18. They fought desperately, and at the end of twenty minutes the *Hornet* won the victory. This action was regarded as one of the most creditable of the war. Biddle was honored by Congress with a gold medal, and citizens of Philadelphia gave him a service of beautiful silver plate. Afterward the *Hornet* was closely chased by a heavy line-of-battle-ship; but by consummate seamanship and casting everything overboard to lighten her, she escaped and reached New York in June, 1815, without boat or anchor.

Captain Warrington captured the *Nautilus* in the Straits of Sunda (between the islands of Sumatra and Java of the East Indian archipelago), on the 30th of June, 1815. Being informed the next day of the ratification of peace, Warrington gave up the *Nautilus* and returned home, bearing the honor of having fired the last shot in the second war for independence. Every cruiser, public and private, had returned to port when Warrington arrived, and the war was over. He, too, was honored by Congress with thanks and a gold medal. During the war, as we have observed, the American privateersmen did good service for themselves and their country. They swarmed upon the ocean, and were the terror of British commerce. The romantic story of their doings have filled a large volume (*Coggeshall's History of American Privateers*), and yet the half has not been told. Their exploits were but a repetition of those of the regular service. After the first six months of the war, the bulk of the naval conflicts was carried on upon the ocean, on the part of the Americans, by private armed vessels, which, as we have observed, "took, burned and destroyed *sixteen hundred* British merchantmen of all classes, in the space of three years."

"The navy," says Cooper, "came out of this struggle with a vast increase of reputation. The brilliant style in which the ships had been carried into action, the steadiness and rapidity with which they had been handled, and the fatal accuracy of their fire on nearly every occasion, produced a new era in naval warfare. Most of the frigate actions had been as soon decided as circumstances would at all allow; and in no instance was it found necessary to keep up the fire of a sloop-of-war an hour when singly engaged. Most of the combats of the latter, indeed, were decided in about

half that time. The execution done in these short conflicts was often equal to that made by the largest vessels of Europe in general actions, and in some of them the slain and wounded comprised a very large proportion of the crews. It is not easy to say in which nation this unlooked for result created the most surprise. . . . The ablest and wisest captain of the English fleet was ready to admit that a new power was about to appear on the ocean, and that it was not improbable the battle for the mastery of the sea would have to be fought over again."

The triumphs of the American navy gave great satisfaction to our people, and were themes for oratory, toast and song. That satisfaction was manifested in various ways, sometimes by a little harmless boasting as in the following verses of an ode to "The American Tar," which was very popular at the close of the war:

"The Goddess of Freedom, borne down by oppression,
 In Europe's famed regions no longer found rest;
 She wept at the heart-rending, wide desolation,
 And languishing looked for relief from the West.
 She heard that Columbia was rearing a temple,
 Where she would be worshipp'd in peace and in war;
 Old Neptune confirm'd it—cried 'Here is a sample,'
 Presenting with pride an American Tar.

"Cease weeping, then, goddess, to thee I've consigned him;
 He loves thee, and he thy protector will be;
 Believe me, a more gallant youth you will find him
 Than e'er bore your banners through ocean and sea.
 When his galley he trims—firm, resolv'd for the onset,
 Woe, woe, to that foe who his prowess shall dare;
 Long will his country lament that he e'er met
 And brav'd the avenging American Tar."

We have now come to a consideration of the closing events of the war in connection with the military operations. These almost ceased at the north after the stirring events at Washington, Baltimore, and Plattsburg. There were some significant political movements in New England in the autumn of 1814, which attracted very wide attention, created considerable alarm, and called forth severe animadversions. The chief theatre of military operations was transferred to the Gulf region.



CHAPTER CI.

The Creek Indians—The British at Pensacola and Fort Bowyer—General Jackson Drives the British from Pensacola—Is Called to New Orleans—Invasion of Louisiana Contemplated—Lafitte and His Band of Outlaws—Jackson in New Orleans—The British in the Gulf—Events on Lake Borgne—Battle Below New Orleans—Pakenham and His Troops—Jackson's Line of Defence—Battle near New Orleans—Defeat and Retreat of the British—Honors to Jackson—The General Fined for Contempt of Court—Treaty of Peace—Its Effects—Effects of the War—The Hartford Convention, Its Cause, Designs and Doings—Adjustment of Public Affairs—Result of the War—The Barbary Powers Humbled.

JACKSON had crushed the military power of the Creek Indians in Alabama, in the spring of 1814, and in the course of the ensuing summer he wrung from them a treaty which extinguished them, politically, as a nation. A large portion of their beautiful and fertile country was added to the United States as indemnity for the expenses of the war. They agreed to allow the national government to build roads across their domain, and not to hold any communication with British or Spanish posts. It then was believed that the war in the South was ended. Suddenly the British appeared in force in the Gulf of Mexico, and were favored and sheltered by the Spanish authorities at Pensacola. Informed of this, some of the Creek chiefs indulged a hope of having their lost power restored to them, and for awhile the obligations of the treaty bore lightly upon their consciences.

By permission of the Spanish governor of Florida, the British took possession of one of the forts at Pensacola, where they fitted out an expedition for the capture of Fort Bowyer (now Fort Morgan), on the eastern shore of the entrance to Mobile Bay. The fort was commanded by Major William Lawrence with a band of one hundred and thirty resolute men. The English squadron bearing land troops appeared off Mobile Point; and on the 15th of September, after some land troops had disembarked, an attack was begun, on land and sea, simultaneously. The twenty pieces of artillery with which Fort Bowyer was armed were brought to bear upon the enemy so skillfully that the British were soon repulsed, with the loss of a

ship-of-war and many men. Among the land troops were two hundred Creek warriors who had violated the treaty.

General Jackson's head-quarters were then at Mobile. He was a major-general in the regular army, and the commander of the southwestern military district, which extended from Tennessee to the Gulf of Mexico and included New Orleans. He had learned that the Spanish governor had



TROOPS CHARGING INTO PENSACOLA.

not only given shelter to the British, but had invited a large number of the Creek warriors to Pensacola, to be enrolled into the British service. The general took the responsibility of calling that official to account for his conduct, but he could not obtain any satisfactory guaranty that the unfriendly act would not be repeated; he therefore determined to march to Pensacola and compel the British to leave that harbor. When volunteers from Tennessee had arrived early in November, he advanced with about four thousand men, and on the 6th encamped within two miles of the Florida capital. An officer was sent with a flag to demand the surrender of the

forts, when the British fired upon it. The next day Jackson's troops charged into the town, when the frightened governor offered to surrender the forts. This was done; whereupon the British abandoned the forts, blew up one of them (Barrancas), and sailed away with the garrison and a considerable number of Indians. These events so impressed the Creeks with a sense of the power of Jackson and his government, that they ever afterward kept quiet.

On his return to Mobile, Jackson found messages from New Orleans, urging him to hasten to the defence of that city. The unwise commander of the British in the Gulf had proclaimed his intention to invade Louisiana, and had sent an inflammatory proclamation among the inhabitants of that State. He had also tried to engage the services of a band of outlaws near the mouth of the Mississippi River, led by Jean Lafitte, who has been called the "Pirate of the Gulf." Lafitte was a shrewd Frenchman, and he and his band had been outlawed by legal proceedings, though his crimes were not against humanity, only violations of the revenue and neutrality laws of the United States. When the invitation was put into his hands, he feigned compliance; but as soon as the bearer had departed, he called his followers around him on the border of the sea and said in substance: "Comrades, I am an adopted citizen of the United States, and will never violate the confidence placed in me by serving the enemies of this country. We have been outlawed; perhaps we deserve it by our irregularities. No matter; I am ready to serve my adopted country, and ask you to join me. What say you, comrades?" His brawny followers then threw up their hats and exclaimed, "We will! we will!" and they were afterward accepted as volunteers in the defence of New Orleans. Lafitte immediately sent the despatches received from the British commander to the governor of Louisiana, and so the people were forewarned of approaching danger.

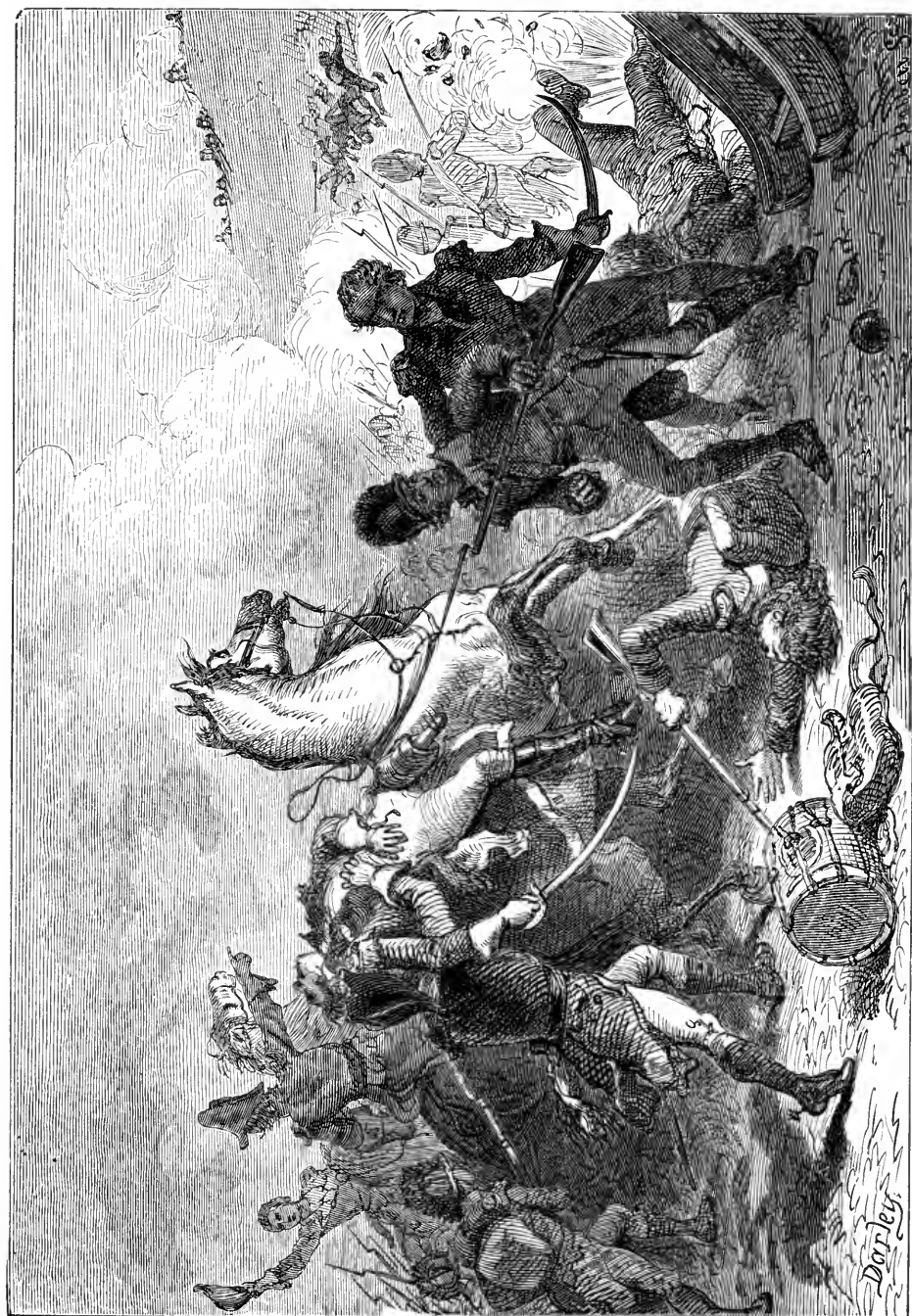
Jackson arrived at New Orleans on the 2d of December, and found that city utterly defenceless, and the people filled with alarm and distracted by petty factions.

Real danger was imminent. The British troops that left Chesapeake Bay after their repulse at Baltimore had gone to the West Indies, where they were joined by about four thousand veterans under the brave Irish general Keane. The combined forces sailed in the direction of New Orleans late in November. The wives of many of the officers accompanied them, for not a man doubted that the speedy conquest of Louisiana would be the result of the expedition. The dullness of the voyage was enlivened by music and dancing, and all anticipated exquisite pleasures to be found in the paradise before them. The presence of Jackson allayed the fears of the

people, and his vigorous measures inspired them with confidence. He established martial-law, and had so rigorously exercised it that before the British were ready for the invasion, he felt confident of success in defending the city against great odds.

The British forces halted at the entrance to Lake Borgne, between which and the Mississippi River New Orleans stands. On the bosom of that lake the Americans had a patrol of five gun-boats, commanded by Lieutenant (afterward Commodore) T. Ap Catesby Jones. Against these were sent twelve hundred men in about forty boats, who captured the American flotilla on the 14th of December, and so secured complete command of the lake. Meanwhile Jackson was carrying on his measures for defence most vigorously; and when he heard of the capture of the flotilla, he sent couriers to General Coffee and others at the head of Tennessee and Kentucky troops, urging them to hasten to New Orleans. His efforts were timely, for on the 22d of December, General Keane, with more than two thousand five hundred men, reached the banks of the Mississippi through a bayou nine miles below the city, and prepared to take New Orleans by surprise. Vigilant eyes were watching his movements; and a prisoner whom he had taken and who had escaped, hastened to New Orleans and gave General Jackson notice of the near approach of the foe. At the same time Coffee and Carroll arrived with Tennesseans, and Jackson put a column in motion to meet the invaders. Early on the evening of the 23d they marched, eighteen hundred strong, led by Jackson in person, and at the same time the armed schooner *Carolina* dropped down the river to within musket range of the British camp. Shots from that vessel first revealed the fact to the British that their presence was known at New Orleans, and these missiles soon broke up their camp, when they were attacked in the dark by Jackson and his followers. The combat that ensued was indecisive, except in making the invaders more cautious and discreet. In this night-conflict the Americans lost about two hundred men, and the British lost four hundred.

New Orleans was saved from capture by surprise; now it had to be saved from open invasion. The events of the 23d dispirited the British, and in this condition General Pakenham found the troops on his arrival on Christmas day, with reinforcements, to take the chief command. He was a veteran fresh from the Spanish peninsula, and was delighted to find under his control some of the best of Wellington's regiments. He immediately prepared to effect the capture of New Orleans and the subjugation of Louisiana without delay. With hot-shot the annoying *Carolina* was burned, and the *Louisiana* was the only American naval force left in the river. Meanwhile Jackson had been casting up a line of intrenchments from the



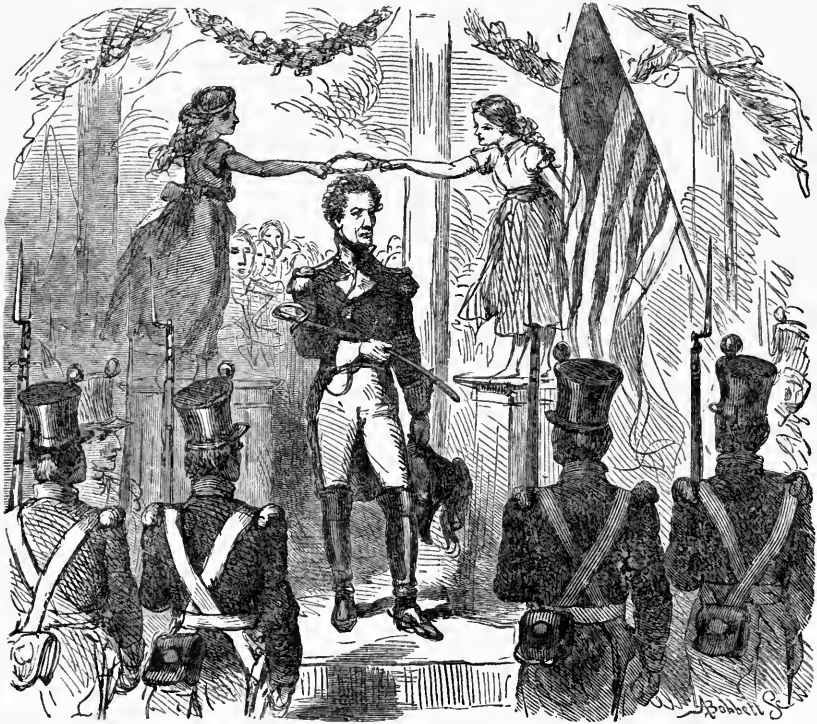
BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS—DEATH OF GENERAL PAKENHAM

banks of the Mississippi to an almost impregnable swamp in the rear, four miles below New Orleans. Near this line indecisive engagements occurred. Finally a battle was fought which, without the negotiations for peace that resulted in a treaty, would have ended the war.

On the morning of the 8th of January, 1815, full six thousand expert sharpshooters, mostly from Tennessee under Coffee and Carroll, and from Kentucky under General Adair, lay behind Jackson's intrenchments almost wholly concealed from the enemy encamped on the plain that stretched away to the southward. Pakenham, who had twelve thousand effective men, had resolved to carry this line by storm, satisfied that his overwhelming numbers of regulars might easily crush the American militia gathered on both sides of the Mississippi. With about nine thousand troops he pressed forward for the purpose as soon as a heavy fog was dispersed, leaving the remainder as a reserve, under General Lambert. An ominous silence prevailed along the American line until the enemy approached within short cannon-range of Jackson's batteries. These were opened with terrible effect, cutting fearful lanes through the ranks of the British. Yet the invaders continued to advance steadily until they came within range of the American rifles, when volley after volley poured a deadly storm of lead upon the British. Whole platoons were mown down as with a scythe; but the gallant army continued to press forward until officer after officer was killed, and Pakenham himself fell, bleeding and dying, into the arms of the late Sir Duncan McDougall, his favorite aid, who performed a similar service for General Ross when he was mortally wounded near Baltimore a few months before. Very soon afterward the whole of the assailants broke and fled back across the plain of Chalmette in great confusion. Lambert, with the reserve, covered the retreat. On the west side of the Mississippi the assailants had also retreated. The slaughter and maiming before Jackson's lines had been fearful. The fugitives left seven hundred dead and fourteen hundred wounded on the field, and suffered a further loss by having five hundred of their companions made prisoners—a loss of twenty-six hundred. The Americans lost only eight killed and thirteen wounded. They were thoroughly protected by breastworks, while the invaders were exposed on an open plain. The bodies of the slain British officers were taken to Villere's plantation, where they were buried that night by torchlight, excepting those of Pakenham and three or four general officers, which were sent to England in casks of rum. The British troops under General Lambert stole noiselessly away on the night of the 19th across Lake Borgne, in small transports, and escaped to the fleet. They then besieged Fort Bowyer for two days, when Major Lawrence was compelled to surrender, and the

victors were about to push on to Mobile when they were arrested by tidings of peace.

General Jackson, with the main body of his army, entered New Orleans on the 21st of January, where the population, of all ages, greeted them as saviors. Two days later that city was the theatre of an imposing spectacle at the front of the old cathedral, in what is now Jackson Square. That day



JACKSON CROWNED AT NEW ORLEANS.

had been appointed by the apostolic prefect of Louisiana for the public offering, in the cathedral, of thanks to the Almighty for the great deliverance; and Jackson, with his staff, were to be in attendance. Preparations were made for the reception of the hero. In the public square was erected a triumphal arch supported by six Corinthian columns, and festooned with evergreens and flowers. Beneath the arch stood two beautiful little girls, each upon a pedestal and holding in her hand a civic crown of laurel. Near them stood two damsels, one personifying *Liberty*, the other *Justice*. From the arch to the cathedral, arranged in two rows, stood beautiful young

maidens dressed in white, each covered with a blue gauze veil, and having a silver star on her forehead. These personified the several States and Territories of the Union. Each carried a basket filled with flowers, and behind each was a lance stuck in the ground, and bearing a shield with the name of the State she represented inscribed upon it.

Jackson and his staff passed on foot through the square between rows of soldiers, and as he stepped upon the slightly raised platform of the arch, the two little girls on the pedestals leaned gently forward and placed the laurel crown upon his head. At the same moment a charming Creole girl (Miss Kerr), as the representative of Louisiana, stepped forward and with great modesty in voice and manner, spoke a few words to the honored chief, in which she expressed the profound gratitude of her people. To this address Jackson made a brief reply, and then passed on to the church, with his pathway strewn with flowers. Therein he was seated near the great altar, and after the apostolic prefect delivered a patriotic discourse, the *Te Deum Laudamus* was chanted by the choir and the people. When the ceremonies were ended Jackson returned to the stern duties of a soldier.

The general was vigilant as well as brave, and he exercised martial law until official tidings of peace reached him. Martial and civil law clashed. An irate judge, whom the general had caused to be arrested and banished beyond the military jurisdiction, summoned Jackson before him to show cause why the general should not be punished for contempt of court. The hero obeyed. The court-room was crowded with citizens indignant at such treatment of the man who had saved their State from invasion and their city from plunder. The judge was alarmed in the presence of the public wrath. "Go on; I will protect you in your duty," said the brave general to the trembling judge. The latter fined the hero a thousand dollars, for which amount the general drew a check before leaving the room. The populace bore him on their shoulders to a carriage in the street, and the citizens soon made up the amount of the fine and tendered it to Jackson. He ordered it to be distributed among the families of the soldiers who had fallen in the battle. Thirteen years afterward the people of the United States elected Andrew Jackson President of the Republic.

We have observed that Great Britain refused to treat for peace under Russian mediation, but the government offered to open negotiations in London or in Gottenburg, Sweden. President Madison, anxious for peace, accepted the proposition, and chose the last-named place for the meeting; but the ancient city of Ghent in the Netherlands (now Belgium) was afterward substituted. There commissioners appointed by the two governments met in August, 1814. The United States was represented by John Quincy

Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell and Albert Gallatin. The British representatives in the commission were Lord Gambier, Henry Goulbourn and William Adams. Christopher Hughes, Jr., of Baltimore, was appointed secretary to the American commissioners. He was then the



JACKSON BEFORE THE COURT.

diplomatic agent of the United States at the Court of Sweden, and was one of the most attractive of men in social life, and unrivalled as a diplomat. When negotiations for peace were opened, a wide difference in the views of the commissioners of the respective nations appeared. Discussions continued several months. A result was not reached until the 24th of December, when a treaty was signed by the respective commissioners and was immediately sent to London, where it was ratified on the 28th by the Prince Regent. It had been borne there by Mr. Baker, secretary of Lord Gambier, and Mr. Carroll, one of the secretaries of the American commis-

sion. The same messengers took it to America in the sloop-of-war *Favorite*, which arrived at New York on the 11th of February. Mr. Hughes, who left Ghent with a copy of the treaty, and embarked for America from the Texel, arrived at Annapolis two days after the *Favorite* reached New York, and he put a copy of the treaty into the hands of the President before the ratified copy arrived in Washington. The treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States on the 17th of February, and it was promulgated the next day by a proclamation of the President. As the tidings went slowly over the land, intense joy and satisfaction were manifested in private and in public.

While the news of peace was spreading great joy throughout the country, there was a feeling of disappointment among reflecting men because the treaty did not secure to the Americans that immunity from search and impressment for which they had made war. It left Great Britain free to pursue her haughty course on the high seas, unrestrained by any moral force. The supercilious manner in which the American commissioners had been treated in England while waiting for the British government to determine where negotiations should be held, had left a thorn of irritation in the public sentiment. For months the commissioners had been suffered to remain in England unnoticed by the government; and the ministry, by proposing first one place and then another for the meeting, had shown a spirit of undignified trifling which delayed the result full six months. The treaty stipulated a mutual restoration of all places and possessions taken during the war, or which might be taken after signing the treaty; declared that all captures at sea should be relinquished, if made within specified times thereafter, in different parts of the world; and that each party should mutually put a stop to Indian hostilities, and endeavor to extinguish the traffic in slaves. The boundaries, imperfectly adjusted by the treaty of 1783, were all settled; but the subjects of search and impressment, of paper blockades and orders in council, were all passed by without specific notice in the treaty. These grave omissions were weapons in the hands of the opponents of the war, which they used with vigor. Their newspapers contained some well-pointed epigrams; and the New York *Evening Post*, anticipating this failure, had printed in its "New Year's Address," several weeks before the arrival of the treaty, the following stanza:

"Your commerce is wantonly lost;
Your treasures are wasted and gone;
You've fought to no end, but with millions of cost
And for rivers of blood you've nothing to boast,
But credit and nation undone."

But while the war and the treaty had failed to secure certain immediate and important incidental advantages, the events of that war did secure the far more important advantage of the positive and permanent independence of the United States, for which our people with arms and diplomacy had contended for many years in vain. It secured to posterity a guarantee for the perpetuation and growth of free institutions; and Great Britain was taught the useful lesson, more puissant in its effects upon the topic of search and impressment than any treaty obligation, that the young republic of the West, the offspring of her oppressions, growing more lusty every hour, would no longer tolerate an insult, nor suffer its sovereignty to be questioned without resenting the offence. Great Britain was compelled to sign a bond, as it were, to keep the peace, in the form of an acknowledgment that she had, in this republic, a formidable rival for the supremacy of the seas, which she was bound to respect. The concessions made to the Americans by the treaty were equally offensive to British pride, for it seemed like stooping to "insolent Yankees;" and the spirit of a portion of the London press was manifested by the following "advertisement extraordinary:"

"*Wanted*—The spirit which animated the conduct of Elizabeth, Oliver, and William.

"*Lost*—All idea of national dignity and honor.

"*Found*—That every independent State may insult *That* which used to call herself *Mistress of the Seas*."

The treaty of peace ended the war which had continued two years and eight months; it also modified the partisan warfare in the republic. We have seen how persistently the Federalists opposed the declaration of war when it was proposed, and denounced it during its progress; also how unpatriotic was the conduct of a portion of that party known as the Peace-Faction. The mischievous conduct of that faction ceased only with the conflict of arms, while a more patriotic portion of the opposition adopted a measure which created suspicions of their loyalty at the time, and caused unjust vituperations for many years afterward. The event alluded to is known in history as "The Hartford Convention," the authentic history of which is as follows:

The haughty position assumed by Great Britain during the negotiations at Ghent, in demanding terms of peace humiliating to the Americans, caused our government to prosecute the war with more vigor than ever before, in the autumn of 1814. To do this it was necessary to raise a considerable force by conscription. This measure brought matters to a crisis in New England, where the Peace-Faction was all-powerful. The conduct of

that faction had made the President suspicious of the loyalty of the New Englanders; and in making military arrangements, he had discriminated unfavorably toward that section of the country of which he showed his distrust. In some of the other States, the matter of local defences had been left almost wholly to the discretion of the respective governors; in New England, the President insisted upon his having exclusive control of all military movements there. The Massachusetts government had refused to place its militia under the control of General Dearborn, of the national army, and the national government therefore refused to pay the expenses of defending Massachusetts from the common enemy. Similar action had occurred in the case of Connecticut, and a clamor was instantly raised that New England was abandoned to the enemy by the national government. In a report, the Massachusetts Legislature made a covert threat of independent action on the part of the people of that section, by appropriating their home resources for home defence. A conference of sympathizing States, to consider the proposition and to consult upon a radical reform in the National Constitution, was proposed. That proposition was acceded to, and on the morning of the 15th of December, 1814, a convention, composed of twenty-six delegates representing New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont, assembled at Hartford, Connecticut, and held their sessions in secret. George Cabot of Boston was chosen president of the convention, and Theodore Dwight, secretary. The sessions of that convention continued three weeks, during which time some propositions were made by indiscreet members, which, if carried out, might have been dangerous to the integrity of the Union. A series of topics for discussion, prepared by a committee, all having relation to the best interests of the republic, occupied the greater portion of the time. Late in December the convention adopted the report of a committee, that it would be expedient for that body to prepare a general statement of the unconstitutional attempts of the executive government of the United States to infringe upon the rights of individual States, in regard to the military, etc.; and to recommend to the legislature of the States the adoption of the most effective and decisive measures to protect the militia and the States from the usurpations contained in these proceedings—the drafting of men. Also to prepare a statement concerning the general subject of State defences, and a recommendation that an application be made to the national government for an arrangement with the States by which they could be allowed to retain a portion of the taxes levied by Congress, to be devoted to the expense of self-defence. They also proposed amendments to the National Constitution, to obtain the following results: The restriction of the power of Congress to

declare and make war; a restraint of the exercise of unlimited power by Congress to make new States and admit them into the Union; a restraint of the power of Congress in laying embargoes and restrictions upon commerce; a stipulation that a President of the United States shall not be elected from the same State two consecutive terms; that the same person shall not be elected President a second term, and that alterations be made concerning slave representation and taxation.

The Hartford convention, undoubtedly composed of as wise, loyal and patriotic men as any in the Union, and who represented the conservative sentiment of discontented New England during a season of great trial, adjourned on the 6th of January, 1815, with an impression that circumstances might compel it to reassemble; therefore the seal of secrecy was not removed. This gave wide scope for conjecture, and the wildest stories of their seditious doings were circulated and believed; and for twenty years the political cry of "a Hartford Convention Federalist!" cast a degree of public odium on the man so denounced.

With the advent of peace very important duties were presented to the national administration, in the adjustment of public affairs in accordance with the new order of things. Plans were considered for the maintenance of the public credit and the extinguishment of the national debt, then amounting to over \$120,000,000. Appropriations were made for rebuilding the public edifices destroyed by the British. The army was reduced to a peace establishment of ten thousand men; and the various acts necessary for the public good during a state of war were repealed. The naval establishment was fully kept up, for the necessity of a force in the Mediterranean to protect American commerce from the depredations of Algerian corsairs was apparent. The total cost of the war to the United States government was about \$100,000,000, and the loss of human life by battle and by other casualties incident to war was estimated at thirty thousand. The cost of blood and treasure to the British nation was much greater. The Americans captured during the conflict on the ocean and on the lakes fifty-six British vessels-of-war, mounting eight hundred and eighty-six cannon, and two thousand three hundred and sixty merchant-vessels, mounting eight thousand guns. There were also lost on the American coast, during the war, by wreck or otherwise, twenty-nine British ships-of-war, mounting eight hundred guns; while the Americans lost only twenty-five vessels-of-war, and a much less number of merchant-ships than the British.

As soon as the war with Great Britain was ended, the United States felt impelled to engage in another with Algiers. Offended because he had not

received from the American government, as tribute, precisely the articles which he had demanded, the semi-barbarian Dey of Algiers, in 1812, uncere- moniously dismissed Mr. Lear, the American consul, and declared war; and afterward his corsairs captured an American vessel, and the crew were reduced to slavery. Mr. Lear was compelled to pay the Dey \$27,000 for the safety of himself and family, and a few Americans who were there, to save them all from being made slaves. Believing that the United States navy had been almost annihilated by the British in the late contest, this North African robber renewed depredations upon American com- merce in violation of treaty obli- gations. Determined to pay tri- bute no longer to this insolent ruler, the American government accepted his challenge for war, and in May, 1815, sent Commodore Decatur to the Mediterranean, with a squadron, to humble the Dey. When Decatur passed the straits of Gibraltar, he found the Algerine pirate fleet cruising in search of American vessels. On the 17th of June, Decatur met the flag-ship of the Algerine admiral (a frigate of 44 guns), and after a brief engagement captured her, also another pirate ship with almost six hundred men. With these prizes he immediately sailed for the bay of Algiers, and on the 28th of June, he demanded the instant surrender of all the American prisoners, full indemnification for all property destroyed, and absolute relinquishment of all claims to tribute from the United States thereafter.

When the Dey of Algiers heard of the fate of a part of his fleet, that terrified robber hastened to comply with Decatur's demands; and in obe- dience to the commodore's requirements, the haughty chief appeared on the quarter-deck of the *Guerriere* (the flag-ship) with some of his officers of state and accompanied by the captives he was to release. There, on the 30th of June, he signed a treaty in accordance with the demands of Decatur, and departed deeply humiliated. From Algiers, after this triumph, the



STEPHEN DECATUR.

commodore sailed for Tunis, and demanded and received from the Bashaw or ruler of that state \$46,000, in payment for American vessels which he had allowed the British to capture in his harbor. This was in July. Then Decatur proceeded to Tripoli, the capital of another of the Barbary States, and in August demanded from the Bey, its ruler, \$25,000 for the same kind



BEY OF ALGIERS BEFORE DECATUR.

of injury to property and the release of prisoners. The treasury of the Bey being nearly empty, Decatur accepted, in lieu of cash, the release from captivity of eight Danish and two Neapolitan seamen, who were held as slaves. This cruise in the Mediterranean sea gave full security to American commerce in these waters, and greatly elevated the character of the United States in the opinion of Europeans. During this cruise of about two months, in the summer of 1815, the navy of the United States accomplished, in the way of humbling the North African robbers, what the combined powers of Europe dared not to attempt.



CHAPTER CII.

Banks—Finances of the Government—A National Bank—Troubles about Boundaries in the Gulf Region—Beginning of Monroe's Administration—His Cabinet—State of the Republic and Its Industries—The West and Its Growth—Chicago—The President's Tour—The Slave System—Colonization Societies—Liberia Founded—Pirates and Slave Dealers—Trouble with the Indians—Jackson in Florida—Doings at Pensacola—Florida Added to the Union—Missouri Territory—Admission of Missouri as a State—Violent Debates on Slavery—Anti-Slavery Movements—Pirates Subdued—Effects of Whitney's Cotton-Gin—The "Monroe Doctrine"—Visit of Lafayette—Lafayette at the Tomb of Washington—Measures of Monroe's Administration—State of the Country.

THE eventful administration of President Madison drew to a close in 1816. During that year the efforts of the government were put forth to complete the readjustment of the finances of the country after the derangements produced by a state of war. Direct taxation was reduced one-half, and other changes were made. The Bank of the United States had expired by the limitation of its charter in 1811, and banks authorized by the several States had appeared in all parts of the Union. At the close of 1815, there were one hundred and twenty of these institutions, with an aggregate capital of \$40,000,000, and an emission of notes estimated at \$200,000,000. The finances of the government were then in a wretched condition. The public credit had been depressed by the unpatriotic action of the Peace-Faction, and from the same cause there was a general suspension of specie payments by the banks, the notes of which were greatly depreciated—twenty per cent in Baltimore and fifteen in New York. In this state of things the friends of a national bank pressed its claims upon Congress, and in the spring of 1816 a second bank of the United States was chartered for twenty years with a capital of \$35,000,000, the United States subscribing for stock to the amount of \$7,000,000. The creation of this bank gave an impetus to general business. The State banks were compelled to resume specie payments. Some of them were aided in their efforts by the national bank, while more feeble ones were finally obliged to close their doors. The government bank went into operation early in 1817, and receiving on deposit the funds of the national government.

it soon became a powerful financial institution. It was so powerful that when President Jackson was inaugurated in 1829 he evinced hostility to it, and waged war upon it as a dangerous institution until it expired by the limitation of its charter, in 1836, which was never renewed by Congress. The bank was re-chartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1836, but made a final suspension four years afterward, when, on winding up its business, there remained nothing for the stockholders—the whole capital was gone.

During Madison's administration Louisiana and Indiana were admitted into the Union as States—the former in April, 1812, and the latter in December, 1816. There had been warm discussions on the subject of the admission of Louisiana, the Federalists strongly opposing the measure. The question of boundary between the possessions of Spain and the United States, in that region, was a serious one. Eastward of the vast territory which, under the title of Louisiana, had been ceded to the United States, and bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, was a region in possession of the Spaniards, known as East and West Florida, the dividing line between them being the Perdido River, now the line between Florida and Alabama. The western portion was claimed by the United States as included in the cession, while the Spanish authorities asserted that their possession extended to the Mississippi. With the act for the admission of Louisiana was passed another act, annexing to that State that part of West Florida lying between the Mississippi and Pearl Rivers, and all eastward of that stream to the Perdido was annexed to the Territory of Mississippi. This measure produced unpleasant relations between the United States and Spain, which continued several years; and the dispute was not settled until after the retirement of Mr. Madison from the Presidency. The latter event occurred on the 4th of March, 1817. James Monroe, his Secretary of State, was his successor, having received an almost unanimous vote for the high office in the electoral colleges. At the same time Daniel D. Tompkins of New York was elected Vice-President by a large majority. Monroe was the fifth President of the United States, and he entered upon the duties of his office under favorable auspices for himself and his country. His inaugural address was liberal in its tone and gave general satisfaction, and the beginning of his administration was regarded as the dawning of an era of good feeling. The Federal party was declining in strength, and from the dominant party which had elected him, the President chose his cabinet-ministers, composed of John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Secretary of War. These were all aspirants for the Presidential chair.

B. W. Crowninshield was continued Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt was appointed Attorney-General. The President was thus surrounded by some of the ablest men of the republic as his constitutional advisers.

Mr. Monroe was conservative, judicious, and conciliatory; just such a man as was then needed in the place which he filled. It was a critical time in the history of the republic, for the country was in a transition state from that of war to one of peace. The demand for domestic manufactures and the high prices obtained for them during the war, had stimulated that particular industry, and many manufacturing establishments had been nurtured into vigorous life. When the war was ended and European manufactures came like a flood in quantity and at low prices, that industry was suddenly overwhelmed in disaster. Thousands of men and women were compelled to seek other employments, and many turned their eyes and their hopes to the millions of fertile acres beyond the Alleghany Mountains, where sure wealth, or at least a competence, awaited the tiller's industry and skill. Bankrupts sought and found relief in the pursuits of agriculture. Homes in the east were left by swarms of sturdy people. Emigration flowed over the mountains in a broad and continuous stream;



JAMES MONROE.

and before the close of Monroe's administration, the Great West had begun its wonderful career. That administration was marked by an immense expansion in the material growth of the United States. Five independent States had been created and added to the Union, namely, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, and Missouri in 1821.

The growth of "The West" in wealth and population has been marvelous. The five great lakes are over fifteen hundred miles in aggregate length, and drain a region estimated to be nearly thirty-six thousand square miles in extent. The regions around these lakes (especially the more west-

ern ones), less than fifty years ago, were almost a wilderness. In 1830, there were less than five thousand white people in the vast region between Lake Michigan and the Pacific Ocean; now there are millions, and populous States and Territories exist where, within a generation, the buffalo and the Indian hunter were lords of the soil. On the borders of these lakes now cluster great commercial centres. Chicago is a model for illustration. It was first surveyed and a small village was marked out there in 1831. A small garrison depended for grain-food upon Mackinaw. Now Chicago is a city of over two million inhabitants, and it is the greatest grain market in the world.

Monroe determined to know more of the country and the people he was called upon to preside over, and sixty days after he was seated in the chair of state he left the capital for an extensive tour. He was clad in the undress uniform worn by officers of the Revolution—a blue coat of domestic manufacture, light waistcoat and breeches, high top-boots known as “Wellingtons,” and a cocked-hat. He journeyed to far-eastern New England, and thence passed through the sparsely settled country to Vermont. He visited Plattsburg, and journeyed through the forests to the St. Lawrence, where he embarked for Lake Ontario. He halted at Sackett’s Harbor, Fort Niagara and Buffalo, and then sailed over Lake Erie to Detroit. From that then remote region he journeyed through the woods of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and reached the capital after an absence of more than three months. In the journey the President became acquainted with leading men of all parties, and was cordially received everywhere with civic and military escorts and the profound respect of the people. The effect of that tour was every way beneficial. Partisan asperity was softened, and genuine patriotism filled the hearts of the people. There was then an almost perfect union of sentiment throughout the country; but the slave system soon awakened the most bitter sectional feeling that disturbed the repose of the people for about forty years.

Congress had passed laws, after the year 1808, prohibiting the African slave trade in our country; but after the war, the rapid increase in the cultivation of cotton made the demand for slave labor greater than the supply, and the African slave trade was reopened on the southern coasts in violation of law. There was also a brisk inter-state slave-trade act established, which continued until the breaking out of the sad Civil War. At that time (1860) the inhabitants of Virginia were receiving many millions of dollars from the sale of persons born on the soil of that State and sent to the cotton-growing States.

Before the Revolution the unpleasant situation of free colored people

among the slaves on account of their social disabilities had attracted the attention of benevolent persons, and efforts had been made to form a settlement for them in Africa. Nothing of great importance was accomplished until about the beginning of Monroe's administration, when the American Colonization Society was formed for that purpose, and for sending to such settlements slaves who had been unlawfully brought to the United States. The society founded the Republic of Liberia on the western coast of Africa, which, since 1848, has been an independent state governed by its own people.



FERTILE FIELDS OF THE WEST.

At this period, several of the Spanish-American colonies had declared their independence. East Florida was then in possession of Spain. A bold Scotchman named McGregor, bearing a commission (as he asserted) from several of the revolted Spanish colonies, was at the head of a band of desperate men, and took possession of Amelia Island off the northern part of the coast of Florida. He declared St. Augustine in a state of blockade, pretended to be engaged in the liberation of Florida from the Spanish yoke, sheltered privateers and pirates, and carried on a brisk trade in African slaves who were smuggled into the United States. At the same time a similar establishment was set up at Galveston, on the coast of Texas, for the

same purposes, to which some of the late followers of Lafitte resorted. The President determined to break up these nests. Late in November, 1817, a body of United States troops took possession of Amelia Island, and the Galveston establishment soon disappeared for want of support.

Meanwhile a mixed host composed of Seminole Indians in Florida, Creeks who were dissatisfied with the treaty of 1814, and runaway slaves, had commenced murderous forays upon the frontier settlers in Georgia and the Territory of Alabama, carved out of Mississippi. It was ascertained that these depredators were incited by British subjects residing in Florida under the protection of the Spanish authorities there. General Gaines was sent by our government to suppress these outrages and to remove any Indian from the territory ceded by the Creeks to the United States. His presence aroused the fierce anger of the Indians. They flew to arms, and for awhile Gaines was in great peril. General Jackson hastened to his relief, in time, with a thousand Tennessee volunteers. He arrived in December. Very little was done during the winter; but in March (1818) Jackson invaded Florida, took possession of the Spanish fort of St. Marks, at the head of Apalachee Bay, and sent the civil authorities and troops to Pensacola.

At St. Marks, Jackson found two of the most active inciters of the Indians to make forays into the settlements, and they were arrested. One was a Scotch trader from the Bermudas named Arbuthnot, and the other was a young Englishman named Ambrister, twenty-one years of age, who had borne a lieutenant's commission in the British service, and had led the motley gang of plunderers into Alabama. The general called these men before him, sternly accused them of their misdeeds, which they did not disclaim, and ordered them to be bound and tried by a court-martial. They were speedily found guilty, and speedily hanged. Jackson soon afterward marched toward Pensacola, where the Spanish authorities who cherished the enemies of the United States and encouraged the Indians to make war on the white people resided. On Jackson's approach, the governor sent a protest against the invasion of the country of a friendly power, and a threat of repelling the intruders "force by force." Jackson pushed on to Pensacola. The governor and a few friends fled on horseback to Fort Barrancas, where he refused to give a guaranty for the peace of the frontier or to surrender the fort. Jackson drew up a 9-pounder field-piece and five 8-inch howitzers before the fort, and had scaling ladders ready, when a white flag appeared over the ramparts and a surrender took place. Jackson sent the governor and the garrison to Havana, and afterward wrote: "All I regret is that I did not storm the works, capture the governor, put him on his trial for the murder of Stokes and his family, and hang him for the deed."

Jackson was severely censured, in some circles, for these high-handed proceedings. His justification was a care for the public safety which could not be secured in any other way. The government and the voice of the people sustained him; but it was perceived that a general and thorough settlement of affairs on the southern boundary was a pressing necessity. A treaty was soon made (February 22, 1819) by which Spain ceded to the **United States** the whole of the Floridas and the adjacent islands. Just two



HUNTING THE BUFFALO.

years afterward that country was erected into a Territory of the United States, and in March, 1821, General Jackson was appointed the first governor over the newly acquired domain.

The vast region known as Louisiana, which was ceded to the United States by France, was divided into two Territories called respectively the "Territory of New Orleans" and the "District of Louisiana." The first named, when it was admitted as a State in 1812, assumed the original name of Louisiana, and the Territory north of it received the name of Missouri. In 1819, the southern portion of the latter Territory was formed into a separate government and called Arkansas. At the same time the Territories of Maine and Missouri were making overtures for admission into the Union.

Now began the first earnest debate in Congress on the subject of the extension of the slave-labor system in our country. The first effort to check that extension was, as we have observed, in 1787, when the Northwestern Territory was organized. The subject was only briefly considered incidentally, from time to time, until 1819, when the inhabitants of the Missouri Territory asked for its admission into the Union as a State. A bill for that purpose was introduced into Congress which contained a provision forbidding the existence of slavery in the new State when admitted. This caused one of the most violent debates in the House of Representatives on the subject of slavery that had ever occurred in the national legislature. Extreme doctrines and foolish threats were uttered on both sides; and there was much adroit management by the party leaders, who used great dexterity in trying to avoid a compromise which had been agreed to at a previous session, when the subject was before the House. One party wished to have Missouri enter the Union as a slave-labor State, and the other party desired its admission as a free-labor State.

As compromise seemed to be the only door through which Missouri might enter the Union, at that time, Henry Clay, who then first assumed the character of a pacificator, moved a joint committee to consider whether or not it was expedient to admit Missouri into the Union, and if not, what provision adapted to her actual condition ought to be made. This motion was adopted, a committee was appointed, but the final result, which was a compromise, was not reached until early in 1821. During the session of 1820-21, the discussions were sometimes very angry. The whole country, in the meantime, had become violently agitated by disputes on the subject, and a cry went forth from unwise and unpatriotic lips at the North and in the South for a dissolution of the Union. Then for the first time the people of the Union were vehemently and decisively divided on the subject of slavery. A member of Congress from Georgia prophetically said in the course of the debate; "A fire has been kindled which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, and which only seas of blood can extinguish." A compromise was effected by the adoption of a provision in the bill (February, 1821) for the admission of Missouri, that in all territory south of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude (the southern boundary of the State of Missouri) slavery might exist, but was prohibited in the region north of that line. This agreement, known as the "Missouri Compromise" (by which that Territory was admitted as a free-labor State), was respected for more than thirty years, when, in 1854, it was violated in favor of the slaveholders. Maine was admitted in 1820.

By this compromise the "fire" was smothered, but not extinguished.

It was kept alive by philanthropists and politicians in the North, who soon reproduced the anti-slavery societies which had existed at an early period in the history of the nation. So early as 1775, Dr. Franklin was president of an anti-slavery society, whose objects were approved by Washington and other leading patriots. The New York Manumission Society was established in 1785, with John Jay president; and similar societies were founded in other States, including Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, and these efforts resulted in the final abolition of slavery in all the States north of those just named. But the cotton-gin, invented by Eli Whitney in the closing decade of the last century, had made the cultivation of cotton so profitable, that there was a large increase in the demand for slave-labor and a consequent enhancement in the value of slaves. This change in the commercial aspect of the cotton plant and slave labor caused the dying institution of slavery to revive and assume extraordinary vigor.

Opposition to it practically ceased at the South, while at the North, the slave-system being unprofitable, that opposition continued, though for many years in a state of repose. It was aroused to action by the debates on the Missouri question. That agitation was succeeded by repose for ten years, when William Lloyd Garrison began the publication of

The Liberator (1831) in Boston, which advocated the emancipation of the slaves as the duty of every master and the right of every bondman, and denounced slave-holding as a "sin against God and a crime against humanity." Arnold Buffum, a member of the Society of Friends, and some others, formed an anti-slavery society in Boston in 1832; and in 1833 a similar society was formed in Philadelphia by Arthur Tappan and others. Violent agitations ensued. By lectures, tracts and newspapers, the anti-slavery doctrine was disseminated all over the land; and so perilous to the



THE APPEAL.

Union seemed these proceedings, that official efforts were made to prevent anti-slavery publications being carried in the mail-bags of the United States. This stimulated the Abolitionists to more vigorous action, and the friends and opponents of their causes threatened the dissolution of the Union. Churches were dismembered, and political parties were formed with the great question of slavery as the central point of action. The Liberal Party was formed in 1840, and in 1848 it was absorbed by the Free-Soil Party. This, in turn, was absorbed by the Republican Party formed in 1856, which still exists, and which carried on the contest against the institution of slavery until it was utterly extinguished at the close of the late Civil war. Thus the prophecy of the Georgian was fulfilled—the “fire” was extinguished by “seas of blood.”

The commerce of the United States was greatly injured by swarms of privateers under Spanish-American flags, who had degenerated into pirates and so become outlaws, subject to chastisement by any nation. They infested the West Indian seas and the northern coasts of South America. Against these pirates and to protect American commerce, our government sent Commodore Perry, with two ships-of-war, in the spring of 1819. Perry died of yellow fever in the performance of his duty, and very little was then done toward suppressing the pirates; but in 1822 a small American squadron destroyed more than twenty piratical vessels on the coasts of Cuba; and the next year Commodore Porter, with a larger force, completed the good work. It was the policy of the government of the United States to favor the revolt of the Spanish-American provinces, whose flag these pirates had dishonored, as a means for preventing the establishment, in the future, of monarchical powers on the American continent. The latter policy was avowed by the President, and has never been lost sight of by our government, and is known in history as the “Monroe Doctrine.” Accordingly, on the recommendation of the President, Congress, early in 1822, resolved by an almost unanimous vote to recognize the independence of five of the revolted colonies, and appropriated \$100,000 to defray the expenses of envoys to the seat of government of each, whom the President soon afterwards appointed.

While the Missouri question was pending, an election for President of the United States occurred. Never was a canvass carried on more quietly than this, and Monroe and Tompkins were re-elected by an almost unanimous vote, the old Federal party as a political organization being nearly extinct. Mr. Monroe's second term was not marked by any very important public occurrences, but a pleasing incident in our history distinguished the last year of his administration. It was the visit of General Lafayette to the

United States as the "nation's guest," he having been invited to come, by the President at the request of Congress. He declined the offer of a ship-of-the-line for his conveyance to this country, and with his son (George Washington) and his secretary he sailed from Havre for New York, where he arrived on the 15th of August, 1824. In the space of about eleven months he made a tour of about five thousand miles through the principal portions of the United States, and was everywhere greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. His journey was like an almost continual triumphal procession. Congress voted him \$200,000 and a township of land, "in consideration of his important services and expenditures during the American Revolution;" and when he was ready to return to France, an American frigate named the *Brandywine*, in compliment to him (the first battle for our independence in which he was engaged having been fought on the banks of the Brandywine in September, 1777), was sent by our government to convey him back. He had witnessed the greatness of the American republic; on his return he experienced the littleness of the Bourbon dynasty in France, for when on his arrival in Havre, a great concourse of the people assembled to make a demonstration in his honor, they were dispersed by the police.

Many interesting incidents occurred during Lafayette's tour through the country. A touching one was related to the writer, many years ago, by George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of General Washington. In October, 1824, Lafayette visited Mount Vernon and the tomb of Washington. He was conveyed to the shore from a steamboat in a barge, accompanied by his son (who had lived at Mount Vernon with Custis when they were boys), Secretary John C. Calhoun, and Mr. Custis. At the shore he was received by Lawrence Lewis, a nephew of Washington, and the family of Judge Bushrod Washington, who was absent on official business. He was conducted to the mansion where, forty years before, he took his last leave of the Patriot whom he most sincerely loved as a father. Then the company proceeded to the tomb of Washington (the old one on the brow of the hill), when Mr. Custis, after a brief speech, presented the general with a gold ring containing a lock of Washington's hair. Lafayette received it with emotion, and after thanking the donor, he affectionately embraced him and the other gentlemen present. Then he fervently pressed his lips to the door of the vault. It was opened, and there were displayed the coffins of Washington and his wife, decorated with flowers. The general descended the steps, kissed the leaden caskets while tears suffused his cheeks, and then reverently retired.

When Monroe's administration of eight years was drawing to a close, the task of choosing his successor devolved upon the people. There were

several prominent men spoken of as candidates, and the choice was not a political but a personal affair. The nomination, in the state of political parties at that time, if done with unanimity, would be equivalent to an election. But candidates were too numerous to insure unanimity. The principal ones were William H. Crawford, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Andrew Jackson. The elections held in the autumn of 1824, showed conclusively that not one of the candidates would be elected by the popular vote, and that the choice would devolve upon the House of Representatives. This was determined by the vote of the electoral colleges; and in February, 1825, the House of Representatives chose John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts for President, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina for Vice President, by the votes of thirteen States.

The administration of Mr. Monroe, which ended on the 4th of March, 1825, was not marked by any very important events besides those already mentioned, excepting the passage of an act making provision, in a degree, by pensions, for the widows and children of deceased soldiers of the War for Independence and of 1812-15; also an arrangement with Great Britain by which American citizens were allowed to share with those of that realm in the valuable Newfoundland fisheries. At about the same time the boundary between the United States and the American-British possessions from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains was defined. The industries of the country were readjusted. In New England, in which capital had been chiefly employed in commerce, navigation and the fisheries, manufactures soon became a favorite pursuit, and under the stimulating influence of high tariffs established in 1816 and 1818, was amply remunerative. The business of the country was generally very prosperous. The population had rapidly increased; the paper currency of the country was contracted and restored to a specie basis. Cotton had become the staple production of the Southern States; the manufactures of the country had increased tenfold, and the tonnage threefold; the national debt had dwindled from \$127,000,000 in 1816, to less than \$80,000,000, and the banking capital of the country was \$127,000,000. Such was the general condition of our country when John Quincy Adams, then fifty-seven years of age, was elevated to the office of President of the republic.



CHAPTER CIII.

President John Quincy Adams—The Georgians and the Indians—The Erie Canal—Wedding the Lakes and the Sea—Death of Adams and Jefferson—South American Republics—The American System—A National Convention and Its Results—Administration of President Adams—President Jackson's Inauguration, Character and Policy—Removal of the Cherokees—United States Bank—Black Hawk War—State Supremacy and Nullification—War on the United States Bank—Speculation and the Credit System—War with the Seminoles—Inter-course with Foreign Governments—Indemnities Settled—Commercial Treaties—New States—Jackson's Last Official Act.

JOHAN QUINCY ADAMS, son of the second President of the United States, entered upon the duties of that high office on the 4th of March, 1825. He was small in stature, a thorough republican in principles, and with political views consonant with those held by Mr. Monroe. The Senate was in session at the time of his inauguration, and that body, by unanimous vote, immediately confirmed Mr. Adams's nominations for cabinet ministers, excepting Henry Clay, against whose confirmation fourteen votes were cast. It had been charged that Mr. Clay, seeing little chance for his own election to the Presidency, had used his influence in favor of Adams and against Jackson with the understanding that he was to be appointed Secretary of State. This alleged "bargain" was the cause of opposition to Clay's confirmation. He was appointed Secretary of State; Richard Rush, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, Secretary of War; Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt, Attorney-General.

Mr. Adams's administration began under the most pleasant auspices. The country was at peace with all nations, and no serious domestic trouble appeared, while general prosperity reigned in the land and there seemed to be nothing that would disturb the serenity of public affairs. This quietude prevailed, in a degree, during the whole of Mr. Adams's administration of four years, which were the least conspicuous for stirring events in the history of the republic. The discords engendered by the late exciting election had produced healthful agitation, but measures were adopted that caused stormy times in the administration that followed.

A threatening cloud appeared in the firmament at the beginning of Adams's administration. When Georgia relinquished her claim to a considerable portion of the Mississippi Territory, the national government agreed to purchase for that State the Indian lands within its borders "whenever it could be peaceably done upon reasonable terms." The Creeks and the Cherokees, who were practising the arts of civilized life, refused to sell their lands and remove into an uncultivated wilderness. The Georgians were impatient, and their governor demanded of the United States the

instant fulfillment of the contract, by a removal of the Indians. He ordered a survey of their lands to be made, and he prepared to distribute their possessions among the citizens of Georgia; and because the national government seemed tardy, he assumed the right to remove the Indians himself. Our government took the just position of defenders of the Indians, and for awhile the matter bore a serious aspect. The difficulties were finally settled, and in the course of a few years the Creeks and Cherokees were settled on lands beyond the Mississippi River.

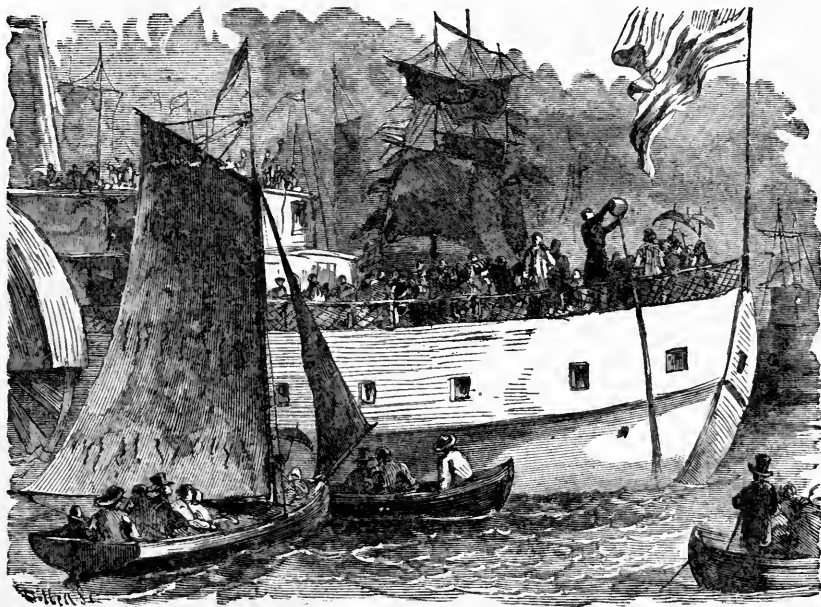


JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

It was at the beginning of Mr. Adams's administration that the greatest work of internal im-

provement ever undertaken in our country, in the interest of commerce, was completed. It was the Erie Canal, which traverses the State of New York in an east and west line three hundred and sixty-three miles, between Buffalo and Albany, and connects the water of the great upper lakes and those of the Hudson River by a navigable stream. It was constructed by the State of New York at a cost of \$7,600,000; and it was the consummation of a scheme which General Philip Schuyler (the father of the American canal system), Elkanah Watson, Gouverneur Morris, Jesse Hawley, De Witt Clinton and others had cherished for years. It was the grand result of a suggestion made by Gouverneur Morris twenty-five years before. When the canal was completed in 1825, it was formally

opened to commerce after a grand "celebration," which consisted of an aquatic procession from Albany to the sea, in November of that year. The flotilla, led by the steamboat *Chancellor Livingston*, with De Witt Clinton (then governor of New York) and State officers on board, was composed of steamers and canal-boats. It halted at the city of New York; and on a cool and brilliant November morning, the whole fleet, accompanied by other vessels, went down the bay, everywhere greeted by the roar of cannon



WEDDING OF THE LAKES WITH THE OCEAN.

and the unfurling of banners, and passing out the Narrows, were soon floating on the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean near Sandy Hook. There the *Chancellor Livingston* was anchored, with a swarm of other vessels around her, which were gayly decorated with flags and crowded with people. At a proper time Governor Clinton advanced to the taffrail of the *Chancellor Livingston*, and holding up a keg containing water of Lake Erie, which had been brought from Buffalo in a canal-boat, and pouring the liquid into the sea, completed the nuptials of the Ocean and the Great Lakes—nuptial ceremonies more important and significant than were ever performed in the wedding of the Doge of Venice and the Adriatic. That great work of internal improvement gave rise to similar ones elsewhere, and was of vast

benefit to the whole country. The Erie Canal continues to be the channel of a wonderful outflow of the agricultural products of the West to the seaboard, and of the inflow of the merchandise from the Atlantic ports to the interior. During the year 1872 (the year before the great depression in the business of the country began), the value of the property that was transported on that canal was \$168,000,000; notwithstanding a three-track railway, carrying an immense amount of freight, is laid parallel to it in its entire length.

The venerable father of the President, John Adams, died at Quincy, Massachusetts, on the 4th of July, 1826, just fifty years, almost to an hour, after the Declaration of Independence was adopted. On the same day and almost at the same hour, Thomas Jefferson expired, at Monticello, in Virginia. Mr. Adams was about ninety-one years of age, and Mr. Jefferson about eighty-three. They were both members of the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Jefferson was its literary author, and Mr. Adams was its chief supporter in the Congress. The death, simultaneously, of these two of the chief founders of the republic, produced a profound sensation; and in many places throughout the Union, eulogies and funeral orations were pronounced.

The most important movement in the foreign policy of Adams's administration was the appointment of commissioners to attend a congress of representatives of the South American Republics, which assembled at Panama, on the Pacific coast, on the 22d of June, 1826. The result of that congress was not very important; but the policy of sending to it representatives of the government of the United States, caused much discussion here.

The *American System*, as it was called (a system of protection and encouragement for American manufacturing establishments, by means of high duties imposed on fabrics made abroad and imported into the United States), was fully developed and assumed the form of a national policy late in the administration of Mr. Adams. On account of the illiberal commercial policy of Great Britain, tariff laws were enacted in 1816 as retaliative measures; and in 1824 imposts were laid on foreign fabrics imported into our country, for the avowed purpose of encouraging home manufactures. These movements were opposed by the cotton-growers, as inimical to their interests; and to a national convention assembled at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1826, to discuss the general subject of tariffs and manufactures, only four of the slave-labor States sent delegates. That convention petitioned Congress to increase the duties on foreign fabrics that were specified, and it was done in the spring of 1828. The measure pleased the manufacturing interest, and displeased the cotton-growing interest. It

was denounced in some of the Southern States as oppressive and unconstitutional, and resistance to the law was suggested.

In the autumn of 1828, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson were rival candidates for the Presidency of the United States. Jackson was elected, with John C. Calhoun as Vice-President, by a very large majority, after a most exciting canvass, during which, a stranger to our institutions, looking on, would have believed the nation to be on the verge of civil war. Mr. Adams's administration closed on the 4th of March, 1829. It had been marked by great tranquillity and unexampled national prosperity. Peaceful relations with foreign nations existed, and the national debt had been diminished at the rate of more than \$7,000,000 a year, it being at the time of his retirement about \$58,000,000. This real prosperity he bequeathed to his successor, and he left the chair of state blessed with the grateful benedictions of the survivors of two wars and their families, to whom had been distributed in pensions, during the four years, more than \$5,000,000.

Jackson, when a lad, had served as a soldier in the old war for independence; and when he proceeded from his lodgings, in Washington city, to the Capitol, to be inaugurated on the 4th of March,

1829, he was escorted by surviving officers and soldiers of that war. His valorous deeds in the second war for independence (1812-'15) were remembered by the soldiers of the latter war, and they thronged the national capital on that day to witness the exaltation of the chief.

President Jackson was honest, brave, and true to his moral convictions. He began his administration with an audacity of conduct that amazed his political friends, and alarmed his enemies. He swept his political opponents out of the various offices; but in making new appointments, he aimed to



ANDREW JACKSON.

have the incumbent answer the searching queries in the affirmative—"Is he capable? Is he honest?" His foreign policy was indicated in his instructions to Louis McLane, his first minister to England, in which he said: "Ask nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing that is wrong." Jackson was so decided in his opinions and actions—so positive in character—that he was thoroughly loved or thoroughly hated; and for eight years he braved the fierce tempests that arose out of partisan strifes, domestic perplexities and foreign arrogance, with a skill and courage that challenge our profound admiration.

At the beginning of Jackson's administration, the government of Georgia renewed its demand for the removal of the powerful Cherokee nation from that State. The President favored the demand, and white people proceeded to take possession of Cherokee estates which had been assigned to them. These Indians were then advanced in civilization, many of them being successful agriculturists. They had churches and schools, and a printing-press; and as they were disposed to defend their rights, civil war appeared inevitable for awhile. In 1832, the Supreme Court of the United States decided against the claim of Georgia, when that State, supported by the President, resisted the decision. An amicable settlement was finally reached; and under the mild coercion of General Winfield Scott and several thousand troops, the Cherokees left Georgia in 1838, and went to lands assigned them well toward the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, where they still remain, with Creeks, Choctaws and others as their neighbors.

In his first annual message, President Jackson took strong ground against a renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, which would expire in 1836. As we have observed, that charter was never renewed by Congress. The discussions on the subject, for several years, kept the commercial community in a state of feverish excitement. It was occasionally varied by some contra-excitement, like that of the "Black Hawk War" in 1832. At that time the region now known as the State of Wisconsin was an almost unbroken wilderness. Several Indian tribes inhabited it; and these, led by Black Hawk, a fierce Sac chief, made war upon the frontier settlers of Illinois in April, 1832. After some skirmishes with United States troops and the militia of Illinois, the Indians were driven beyond the Mississippi, and their leader, made captive, was taken to eastern cities, that he might be impressed with the folly of contending with a nation so numerous and strong.

Now began a conflict which shook the republic to its very centre. The doctrine of State sovereignty, or State supremacy, formulated in the first constitution of the republic known as the *Articles of Confederation*, and

discarded in the second constitution, yet prevailed, especially in South Carolina, where John C. Calhoun was its most earnest exponent. The discontents alluded to growing out of the tariff acts, and crystallized by the alchemy of this doctrine, assumed the concrete form of incipient rebellion against the national government when, in the spring of 1832, an act of Congress was passed imposing additional duties on imported textile fabrics. A State convention of delegates was held in South Carolina in November following, at which it was declared that the tariff acts were unconstitutional and therefore null and void ; and it was resolved that no duties should be collected in the port of Charleston by the national government. It was also proclaimed that any attempt to enforce the law would be resisted by the people in arms, and would cause the secession of South Carolina from the Union. The State Legislature that met soon afterward passed laws in support of this declaration, and military preparations were made for that purpose. Civil war seemed to be inevitable, but the President met the exigency with his usual promptness and vigor. On the 10th of December he issued a proclamation (written by Louis McLane, Secretary of the Treasury), in which he denied the right of any State to nullify an act of the national government, and warned those engaged in the movement in South Carolina that the laws of the United States would be enforced by military power, if necessary. The "nullifiers" yielded to necessity for the moment, but their zeal and determination were not abated. Great anxiety filled the public mind for a time, until Henry Clay, one of the most earnest promoters of the *American System*, appeared as a pacificator, by offering a bill (February 12, 1833) which provided for a gradual reduction of the obnoxious duties during the next ten years. This compromise was accepted by both parties, and the bill became a law in March. Discord ceased, and the dark cloud gave way to sunshine. President Jackson had been re-elected to the Chief Magistracy in the autumn of 1832, with Martin Van Buren as Vice-President. The latter had been Secretary of State, and was appointed by the President, during the recess of Congress, to succeed Mr. McLane as minister to England. The Senate afterward refused to ratify the appointment, and Van Buren was recalled. This act was regarded as a gratuitous indignity offered to the administration. Its friends made use of it to create sympathy for the rejected minister, and he was elected to preside over the body which had declared him to be unfit to represent the republic at the British court. The result completely alienated Calhoun from the administration.

While the country was agitated by the movements of the nullifiers, the President himself produced equal excitement by beginning a series of acts

in his warfare upon the United States Bank which were denounced as high-handed and tyrannical. In his annual message in December, 1832, the President recommended Congress to authorize the removal from that institution of the government moneys deposited in it, and to sell the stock of the bank owned by the United States. Congress refused to do so. After the adjournment of that body, the President took the responsibility of ordering Mr. Duane, the Secretary of the Treasury, to withdraw the public funds (amounting to about \$10,000,000) from the bank, and deposit them in certain State banks. The Secretary refused, when the President removed him from office, and put in his place R. B. Taney, then the Attorney-General and afterward Chief-Justice, who obeyed his superior. The removal of the funds began in October, 1833, and a large portion of them were drawn out in the course of four months; the remainder, by the end of nine months. This transaction produced great public excitement and much commercial distress. The amount of loans of the bank was over \$60,000,000 on the first of October, when the removal was begun; and so intricate were the relations of that institution with the business of the country, that when the functions of the bank were paralyzed, all commercial operations felt a deadening shock. This fact confirmed the opinion of the President that it was a dangerous institution, and he refused to listen favorably to all prayers for a modification of his measures, or for action for relief made by numerous committees of merchants, manufacturers and mechanics, who waited upon him. To all of them he said, in substance: "The government can give no relief nor provide a remedy; the banks are the occasion of the evils which exist, and those who have suffered by trading largely on borrowed capital ought to break; you have no one to blame but yourselves." The State banks received the government funds on deposit, and loaned them freely. The panic subsided; confidence was gradually restored, and apparent general prosperity returned.

The appearance was deceptive. Speculation was stimulated by the freedom with which the banks loaned the public funds, and the credit system was enormously expanded. Trade was brisk; the shipping interest was prosperous; prices ruled high; luxury abounded, and nobody seemed to perceive the under-current of disaster that was surely wasting the foundations of the absurd credit system and the real prosperity of the nation. It collapsed at the touch of the Ithurian spear of Necessity. A failure of the grain crop of England caused a large demand for corn to pay for food products abroad. The Bank of England, seeing exchanges running high and higher against that country, contracted its loans and admonished houses who were giving long and extensive credits to the Americans, by the use of

money borrowed from the bank, to curtail that hazardous business. At about the same time the famous "Specie Circular" went out from our Treasury Department (July, 1836), directing all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but coin. From the parlor of the Bank of England and from the Treasury of the United States went forth the unwelcome fiat, Pay up! American houses in London failed for many millions; and every bank in the United States suspended specie payments in 1837, but resumed in 1839. Then the United States Bank, chartered by the legislature of Pennsylvania, fell into hopeless ruin, and with it went down a very large number of the State banks of the country. A general bankrupt law, passed in 1841, relieved of debt almost forty thousand persons, whose liabilities amounted in the aggregate to about \$441,000,000.

These financial troubles were preceded by the breaking out of war with the Seminole Indians in East Florida, a consequence of an attempt to remove them, by force, to the wilderness west of the Mississippi River. Led by Micanopy, their principal sachem and chief, they began a most distressing warfare upon the frontier settlements of Florida, in which Osceola, a chief superior in ability to Micanopy (for he possessed the cunning of Tecumtha and the heroism of a Metacomet), was an active leader for awhile, for he had private wrongs to revenge.

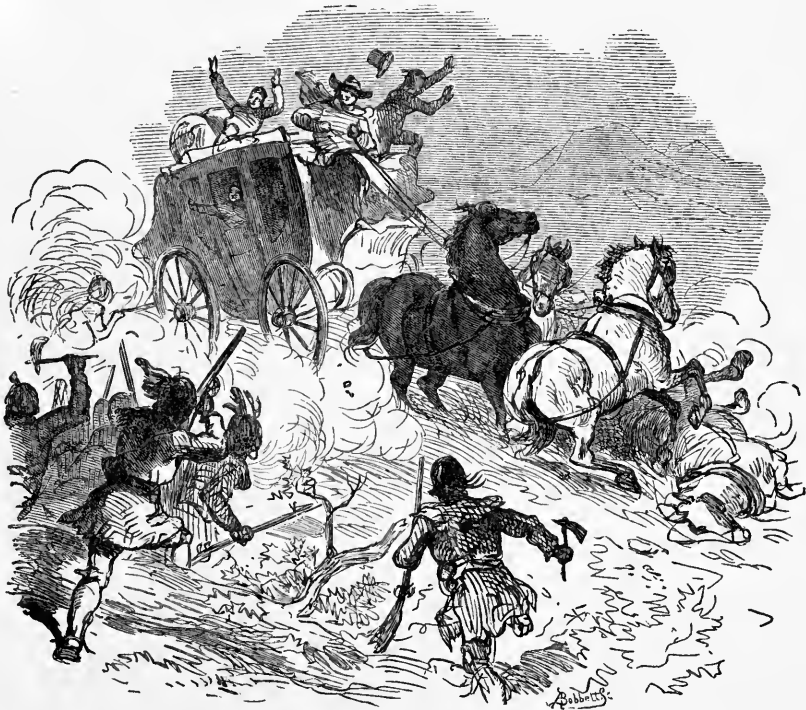
In the spring of 1832, some of the Seminole chiefs, in council, agreed to leave Florida, and made a treaty to that effect. Other chiefs (among whom was Osceola) and the great body of the nation resolved to stay, declaring that the treaty was not binding upon them. At length, in 1834, General Wiley Thompson was sent to Florida with troops to prepare for a forcible removal of the Indians. Osceola stirred up the nation to resistance. One day his insolent bearing and offensive words in the presence of Thompson caused that general to put the chief in irons and in a prison for a day. Osceola's wounded pride called for vengeance, and it was fearfully wrought during a war that lasted about seven years. By bravery, skill, strategies and treachery, he over-matched the United States troops sent against him and commanded by some of the best officers in the service.

The first blow was struck in December, 1835. Osceola had agreed to send some horses and cattle to General Thompson; but at the very time he was to do so, the savage was, with a small war party, murdering the unsuspecting inhabitants on the borders of the everglades—a region mostly covered with water and grass, and affording a secure hiding-place for the Indians. At that time General Clinch was occupying Fort Drane with a small body of troops. That post was in the interior of Florida, forty miles eastward of the mouth of the Withlacoochee River, and the garrison was

now exposed to much danger from the hostilities of the Indians. Major Dade, with over a hundred soldiers, was sent from Fort Brooke, at the head of Tampa Bay, to the relief of Clinch; and on the 28th of December (1835) he fell into an ambush, when himself and his followers were all massacred excepting four men, who afterward died from the effects of the encounter. That sad event occurred near Wahoo Swamp, on the upper waters of the Withlacoochee. On the same day Osceola and a small war party stole unobserved up to a store a few yards from Fort King (about sixty miles southwest of St. Augustine), where General Thompson and five of his friends were dining, and murdered them. Osceola killed and scalped General Thompson with his own hand, and so he enjoyed the revenge he had sought. Three days later, General Clinch had a sharp fight with the Seminoles on the Withlacoochee; and on the last day of February, 1836, General Gaines was assailed at the same place.

The Creeks helped their brethren in Florida by attacking white settlers within their ancient domain, in the spring of 1836. Made bold by success, they extended their depredations and murderous forays into Georgia and other parts of Alabama, attacking mail-carriers on horseback, stage-coaches on the land, and steamboats on the rivers; and finally they assailed villages, until thousands of men, women and children, were seen flying for their lives from place to place to escape the tomahawk, the bullet, and the scalping-knife. General Winfield Scott was now in chief command in the South, and he prosecuted the war with so much vigor that the Creeks were speedily subdued; and during the summer of 1836, thousands of them were removed to the wilderness west of the Mississippi. At mid-autumn, General Call of Georgia led about two thousand militia and volunteers from that State against the Seminoles. Near the place of the massacre of Dade's command, a detachment of them, about five hundred in number, had a severe battle with the savages on the 25th of November; but like all other encounters with these Indians in their swampy fastnesses, it was not decisive. In that region the United States troops suffered dreadfully from miasmatic fevers, the bites of venomous serpents, and the stings of insects; and the year 1836 closed with no prospect of peace. Indeed the war continued all the winter; but finally, in March, 1837, several chiefs appeared before General Jesup, then in chief command there, at his quarters at Fort Dade, and signed a treaty, which was intended to secure an immediate peace and the instant departure of the Seminoles to the new home prepared for them. The wily Osceola caused this treaty to be violated. The war was renewed; and during the summer of 1837, many more troops perished in the swamps while pursuing the savages. At length the treacherous chief became a

prisoner in the hands of General Jesup. That officer received Osceola and other chiefs, with a train of seventy warriors, under a flag of truce, in a grove of magnolias in the dark swamp. As the chief arose to speak, Jesup gave a signal, when two or three of his soldiers rushed forward and seized and bound Osceola with strong cords. He made no resistance; but several of his excited followers drew their gleaming hatchets from their belts. The muskets and bayonets of Jesup's troops restrained them, and



INDIANS ATTACKING MAIL-CARRIAGES.

they were dismissed without their leader, who was sent to Charleston and confined in Fort Moultrie. There he died of a fever, and a small monument was erected over his grave near the main entrance to the fort. Jesup was severely censured for this violation of the sanctity of a flag; his plea in his justification was that it was the only way to stop the distressing war, for Osceola could not be held by the most solemn obligations of a treaty. Osceola's captivity was a severe blow to the Seminoles; but under other leaders they continued to resist, notwithstanding almost nine thousand.

United States troops were in their territory at the close of 1837. Their fastnesses in the everglades could not be penetrated by the troops and they defied them, even after they received a severe chastisement from six hundred national soldiers under Colonel Zachary Taylor (afterward President of the United States), who had succeeded General Jesup. This chastisement was given them in a battle fought on Christmas day, on the northern border of Macaco Lake. For more than two years afterward Taylor and his men endured great hardships in trying to bring the war to a close. A treaty for that purpose was made in May, 1839, but so lightly did its obligations bind the Indians that they continued their depredations. It was not until 1842 that a permanent peace was secured, when scores of valuable lives and millions of treasure had been wasted in a war that had its origin in the injustice of the white man toward his dusky neighbor.

In the intercourse of President Jackson's administration with foreign governments, his instructions given to Minister McLane, already alluded to, formed the basis of action. He demanded what was right with vigor, and refused to submit to what was wrong on all occasions; and by this course he secured to our republic the profound respect of the nations of the globe. At the end of his first term, the foreign relations of our government were very satisfactory, excepting with France. That government, by a treaty which he had vigorously pressed to a conclusion, had agreed to pay to the United States \$5,000,000, by instalments, as indemnity for injury to American commerce, which the operations of the various decrees of Napoleon from 1806 until 1811 had inflicted. The legislative branch of the French government did not promptly comply with the provisions of the treaty, and the President assumed a hostile attitude. The affair was finally settled in 1836, before Jackson left the chair of state. Similar claims were made against Portugal, and payment obtained; and for similar reasons the king of Naples agreed to pay to the United States \$1,720,000. Commercial treaties were made with several European states and with the Sultan of Turkey; and when Jackson retired from office in the spring of 1837, our republic, with its national debt extinguished, was more respected than ever by the powers of the earth.

During the administration of President Jackson, of eight years, two new States were admitted into the Union, making the whole number twenty-six. These were Arkansas and Michigan. The former was admitted in June, 1836, and the latter in January, 1837. At that time Jackson's administration was drawing to a close. Martin Van Buren, who had been nominated for the Presidency, with the understanding that if elected he would continue the general policy of Jackson, was chosen to that office by a very

large majority of the popular vote. The people failed to elect a Vice-President, when the Senate chose Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky for that office.

President Jackson offended a large class of the people of the United States by his last official act. So loud was the public clamor against the "Specie Circular," that a bill for the partial repeal of the measure was



SEIZURE OF OSCEOLA.

passed by both Houses of Congress at near the close of the session in 1837. The President refused to sign this bill; and to prevent its becoming a law by a two-thirds vote after he should veto it, he kept it in his hands until Congress had adjourned. His message giving his reasons for withholding his signature was dated "March 3d, 1837, a quarter before 12 P. M."

President Jackson now retired to his seat "The Hermitage," in Tennessee. He was then seventy years of age. He never entered public life again; and there, at that beautiful retreat, he died in June, 1845, when he was more than seventy-eight years of age.



CHAPTER CIV.

Inauguration of Mr. Van Buren—A Commercial Revulsion—Extra Session of Congress—Insurrection in the Canadas—Burning of the Caroline—Northeastern Boundary Troubles—The Ashburton Treaty—"Hard Cider Campaign"—General Harrison Elected President—Divorce of Banks and State—Harrison's Inauguration and Death—John Tyler Becomes President—History of Political Parties—Extra Session of Congress—Bills for a National Bank Passed and Vetoed—Dissolution of the Cabinet—South Sea Exploring Expedition—Smithsonian Institution—Trouble in Rhode Island—Texas and Its Annexation—A Sad Accident—Oregon—President Tyler's Retirement.

IT seemed to be the opening of a new era in the history of our Republic, when, on the 4th of March, 1837, Martin Van Buren of New York, of Dutch descent, was inaugurated the eighth President of the United States. His predecessors in that office were all of British stock, and had been personally engaged in the events of the old war for independence; he was born at near the close of that war, and was in the fifty-fifth year of his age when he entered the chair of state. The day of his inauguration was bright and serene, and he rode from the Presidential mansion to the Capitol by the side of the venerable Jackson, in a phaeton made largely of wood of the frigate *Constitution*, which the political friends of the general had presented to him. They were escorted by the military, horse and foot, and the new President, when he had taken the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address, was warmly greeted by the shouts of a great multitude of people.

Mr. Van Buren's administration began at an inauspicious time, for the fearful commercial revulsion, already alluded to, had just begun. During March and April, 1837, there were mercantile failures in the city of New York to the amount of more than one hundred million dollars. Only fifteen months before, property to the amount of more than twenty million dollars had been consumed by a great fire, which occurred in December, 1835, when more than five hundred buildings were destroyed. The effects of these losses and failures at the commercial emporium were felt in every part of the Union, and business confidence received a paralyzing shock. A deputation of merchants and bankers of New York waited upon the President in May with a petition praying him to defer the collection of duties, rescind

the "Specie Circular," and call an extraordinary session of Congress. Their prayer was rejected, and when that fact became known nearly all the banks in the country suspended specie payment. This movement embarrassed the government, for it was unable to obtain coin wherewith to discharge its own financial obligations. So situated, the public good demanded legislative relief, and the President called an extraordinary session of Congress on the 4th of September. In his message to that body, he proposed the establishment of an independent treasury for the public funds, totally disconnected with all banking institutions; but during a session of forty-three days, Congress did very little for the general relief, excepting the authorizing of an issue of treasury notes, in amount not exceeding ten million dollars. The independent treasury scheme met with violent opposition, but a bill to that effect became a law in July, 1840, and the "Sub-Treasury System" was put into operation.

Peaceful relations between the United States and Great Britain, which had then existed many years, were somewhat disturbed in 1837 and 1838 by events connected with a revolutionary movement that broke out in Canada, the avowed

object being to achieve the independence of the provinces of British rule. In this effort our people sympathized, and gave the insurgents all possible aid and comfort. Individuals and organized companies went across the border and joined the insurgents; and refugees from Canada were protected here. The agitation and the outbreak occurred simultaneously in Upper and Lower Canada, but local jealousies prevented a unity of action, and the scheme failed. The active sympathy of the people of the "States," and especially along the northern frontier, irritated the British government. The President issued a proclamation, warning Americans not to violate neutrality and international laws; and he sent General Winfield Scott to the northern frontier to preserve order. It was not permanently effected until at the end of about four years.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Many stirring incidents occurred on the frontier during that outbreak in the Canadas, the most conspicuous of which was on the bosom of the Niagara River. A party of Americans, seven hundred in number, with twenty cannon, took possession of Navy Island, in that stream, two miles above the Great Falls. They had a small steamboat named *Caroline*, that plied between the Island and Schollosser, on the New York shore. One dark night in December, 1837, a party of royalists crossed the river from Canada, set the *Caroline* on fire, cut her loose from her moorings, and allowed her to go blazing down the fearful rapids and over the crown of the mighty cataract into the seething gulf below. It was believed that some persons were on board the *Caroline*, and perished with her.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Another cause for unpleasant feeling between the governments of the United States and Great Britain was a long-standing dispute concerning the true boundary between the State of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick. The inhabitants of each frontier had become so exasperated, that at the close of 1838 they were preparing for actual war. General Scott was sent to the scene of strife as a pacificator in the winter of 1839, and the dispute was settled by a treaty negotiated by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, the same year.

Provision was made in the same treaty for the co-operation of the two governments in the suppression of the African slave trade; also for the giving up of fugitives from justice, in certain cases. This is known in history as the Ashburton Treaty.

Mr. Van Buren was a candidate for the Presidency a second time, and was nominated for that office by the unanimous vote of the Democratic convention assembled at Baltimore in 1840. In December, 1839, a national Whig convention, held at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, nominated General William Henry Harrison of Ohio for President and John Tyler of Virginia for Vice-President. The canvass was a very exciting one, and the method

of carrying it on by one party was exceedingly demoralizing. Because Harrison lived in the West and his residence was formerly a log-cabin, such a structure became the symbol of his party; and because of his proverbial hospitality, that quality was symbolized by a barrel of cider. Log-cabins were erected all over the country as places for political gatherings, and seas of cider were drank in them. Young and old partook freely of the beverage, and the meetings were often mere drunken carousals that were injurious to all, and especially to youth. Many a drunkard afterward sadly charged his departure from the path of sobriety to the "Hard Cider" campaign of 1840. Demagogues, as usual, had made the people believe that a change in administration would restore prosperity to the country, and they adroitly held the administration of Van Buren responsible for nearly all the woes the country was suffering. The consequence was that Harrison and Tyler were elected by overwhelming majorities; and in the spring of 1841, Mr. Van Buren surrendered the Presidential chair to the popular soldier of the West.

Fifty years had now elapsed since the formation of the government under the new constitution. The number of the States had doubled, and the population had reached about seventeen million souls. The resources of the country had been largely developed, especially its mineral treasures of coal and iron. The railway system was fairly established, and the settlement of the West was in rapid progress. From the beginning of the career of the republic, the State and banking institutions had been closely wedded; the chief event of Mr. Van Buren's administration was their absolute divorce. They were reunited during the late civil war, and their nuptials, under better auspices, have been fruitful of blessings to the country.

General Harrison was an old man—sixty-eight years of age—when he



THE HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN.

entered upon the duties of chief magistrate of the nation. He seemed vigorous in mind and body when he delivered his inaugural address from the eastern portico of the Capitol. It was received with favor by all parties, for it was full of wisdom; and confidence was half restored in the commercial world, when it was known that he had chosen Daniel Webster for Secretary of State; Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, Secretary of War; George E. Badger, Secretary of the Navy; Francis Granger, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. This beginning gave omen of the dawn of a day of prosperity for the land, and there were glad hearts everywhere. But the anthems of the inaugural day were speedily changed into solemn dirges. The hopes centred in the new President were extinguished; for precisely one month after he took the oath of office from Chief-Justice Taney, he died. He had performed only one official act of great importance during his brief administration, and that was the issuing of a proclamation on the 17th of March, calling an extraordinary session of Congress in May to consider the subjects of finance and revenue.

John Tyler, the Vice-President, became the constitutional successor of President Harrison. He was called to Washington from Williamsburg in Virginia, by a message sent by Harrison's cabinet-ministers on the 4th of April (the day on which the President died), and he was in the national capital at four o'clock on the morning of the 6th. At noon, the cabinet-ministers called upon him in a body, and he took the oath of office, administered by Judge Cranch. To the gentlemen present, after alluding to the deceased President, Mr. Tyler said, "You have only exchanged one Whig for another." He had been a Democrat of the school of strict constructionists of the Constitution, but when he was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, he had avowed himself to be a firm and decided Whig. It seems proper here, in order to better understand the brief record of events that follow, to give an outline sketch of political parties in the United States at that time.

We have seen that the Federal party was cast into a minority on the election of Mr. Jefferson in 1800, and continued in opposition until the close of Madison's administration in 1817, when they soon afterward became extinct as a national party; the administration of Mr. Monroe being so generally satisfactory, that opposition practically ceased. When, in 1824, Adams and Jackson, Crawford and Clay, became rival candidates for the Presidency, separate political organizations of a personal nature were formed, composed of Federalists and Democrats intermingled; but when Jackson was elected to the chief magistracy in 1828, his supporters claimed the name of Democrats. His opponents took the name of National Republicans, but when in

1833 and 1834 they were joined by seceders of the Democratic party, they took the title of Whigs. At the accession of Mr. Van Buren in 1837, the great national parties into which the people were divided were known respectively as Democrats and Whigs. Several minor parties (some of them local in their organization), such as the Anti-Masons in the Eastern States; the State-Rights men in the South, who were opposed to the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank; and the supporters of Jackson in Georgia, Tennessee and other States, who were opposed to Van Buren, generally acted with the Whig party.

Even before the elevation of Mr. Van Buren to the Presidency, the Democratic party had been divided in the Northern and Middle States. There arose in its ranks, in 1835, in the city of New York, a combination opposed to all moneyed institutions and monopolies of every sort. They were the successor of the defunct Workingmen's party, formed in 1829, and called themselves the "Equal Rights Party." They acted with much caution and secrecy in their opposition to the powerful National Democratic party. They never rose above the dignity of a faction, and their first decided demonstration was made in Tammany Hall, one evening at the close of October, 1835, when the "Equal Rights" men objected to some names on the ticket to be put before the people. There was a struggle for the chair, which the "regulars" obtained, declared their ticket and resolutions adopted, and then attempted to adjourn the meeting and put out the lights. The opposition were prepared for this emergency by having "loco-foco" or friction matches in their pockets, with which they immediately restored light to the room, placed their leader in the chair, adopted an "Equal Rights" Democratic ticket, and passed strong resolutions against all monopolies. The faction was ever afterward known as the Loco-Focos, and the name was finally applied by the Whigs to the whole Democratic party. This faction became formidable, and the regulars endeavored to conciliate the irregulars by nominating Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, their favorite candidate for the Presidency, for Vice-President, with Mr. Van Buren. The advocacy of an extensive specie currency by the latter, and his proposition for a sub-treasury, alienated another portion of the Democratic party, and they formed a powerful faction known as "Conservatives." This faction finally joined the Whigs, and in 1840 aided in the election of Harrison and Tyler.

The first extraordinary session of the Twenty-seventh Congress began on the 31st of May, 1841, and continued until the 13th of September following. Subjects of grave importance to the nation were presented to that body, chief of which was that of the finances of the country. The Secretary of

the Treasury (Mr. Ewing) strongly urged the necessity of a national bank, and recommended Congress to charter one with a capital of thirty-million dollars. At the request of Congress (whose action was suggested by the President), the Secretary reported a plan of a "Fiscal Bank of the United States," with a bill for its incorporation. He endeavored to free the plan from the constitutional objections to preceding institutions of a similar nature. It was known that the President had decided constitutional objections to the old bank and had assisted Jackson in his warfare upon it; and a bill was finally framed, partly upon the plan proposed by the Secretary, and partly by one proposed in the Senate by Mr. Clay, which the President, it was said, had declared met his views. It was passed on the 6th of August, as eminently the great Whig measure of the session, and one which was to restore confidence to the business community and inaugurate a day of national prosperity. It was sent to the President for his signature, when, to the great disappointment of his political friends, he returned it with his objections ten days after its passage. The Whigs in Congress were bewildered, and great anxiety was felt throughout the country. There was not a sufficient number of its supporters in Congress to enable them to carry the measure over the President's veto, and they hastened to construct a new bill that would meet his views. He was visited by two members deputed for the purpose, and a bill in accordance with his wishes was drawn up and submitted to Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, who laid it before Mr. Tyler. The latter approved it, and it was sent to the House of Representatives and passed by that body. In conformity to his wishes the name of "Bank" was omitted in the latter.

While the second bill was pending in Congress, a private letter written by the late John M. Botts of Virginia, concerning the veto, was made public. He charged the President with infidelity to the party in power, saying: "One Captain Tyler is making a desperate effort to set himself up with the Loco-Focos, but he'll be headed yet, and, I regret to say, it will end badly for him. He will be an object of execration with both parties. . . . He has refused to listen to the admonitions of his best friends, and looked only to the whisperings of ambitious and designing mischief-makers who have collected around him." This letter so irritated the President that, allowing his personal feelings to control his public action, he resolved to oppose any bank bill that might be offered at that session. The second bill, which the President had approved, was passed without alteration on the 3d of September. He had expressed a strong desire, at the beginning of the session, to have the matter postponed until the regular session, but the friends of the measure in Congress and throughout the country demanded immediate

action. The bill was submitted to the President for his signature, and pursuant to his resolve, he vetoed it on the 9th—six days after its adoption. In consequence of this act, the Whigs, who had elevated Mr. Tyler to his high dignity, were greatly exasperated, and he was denounced as unfaithful to solemn pledges and as a secret enemy, who was playing into the hands of his late associates, the Democrats. All of Mr. Tyler's cabinet-ministers resigned excepting Mr. Webster, who patriotically remained at his post because grave public interests connected with his department required it. In fact, Mr. Webster felt that the bank matter had been pushed with too much haste and persistency, considering the state of the President's mind, "since there was reason to believe that the President would be glad of time for information and reflection before being called on to form an opinion on another plan for a bank—a plan somewhat new to the country." Mr. Webster wrote, "I thought his known wishes ought to be complied with. I think so still. I think this is a course just to the President and wise in behalf of the Whig party." But such counsels did not prevail, and there was a decided alienation between the President



JOHN TYLER.

and the Whig party from the time of the resignation of his cabinet. The two principal motives attributed to Mr. Tyler as the cause of his vetoes of the bank bills were, first, his constitutional scruples, with a determination to preserve his character for consistency ; and, second, having set his heart upon a second term for the Presidency, he was charged with endeavoring to ingratiate himself with his recent party friends, the Democrats, by his bank vetoes, and thus become the candidate for re-election in 1844. But neither party nominated him, and he accepted that honor from a convention of delegates composed chiefly of office-holders, but perceiving that his election would be impossible, he withdrew in August, and he and his friends gave their influence to the Democratic party.

During that extraordinary session of Congress, other important measures

were adopted. The wants of the treasury were supplied, provision was made for fortifications, the sub-treasury act was repealed, and a bankrupt act, which Mr. Webster spoke of as "a great measure of justice and benevolence," was passed. By the latter act, thousands of honest and industrious men who had been prostrated by the tempest of business disaster which had swept over the land, and were hopelessly in debt, were enabled to stand on their feet again and give their energies to the promotion of the various industries of the country. It bore hard upon the creditor class; and when rogues sought its shelter while cheating honest men, the law was repealed.

The second year of Mr. Tyler's administration (1842) was distinguished by the return of an expedition which the government sent out late in the summer of 1838 under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, to explore the great Southern Ocean. That expedition cruised along what was supposed to be the shores of a Southern continent, seventeen hundred miles in the vicinity of latitude 66°. Much valuable scientific information was obtained, for able scientists and artists accompanied the expedition; but owing to the imperfect methods of the publications of the results, that knowledge has not been properly diffused among the people. At the end of a voyage of about ninety thousand miles, the expedition presented to the nation a large collection of specimens of the natural history and curiosities of the islands of the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. A greater portion of these are preserved in the custody of the National Institute, in the building of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington city. The last-named institution was founded with funds bequeathed to the United States government by James Smithson of England, in trust, to be used for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The sum bequeathed, when received in 1838, was more than half a million dollars in gold, and in 1865, a residuary legacy of over \$26,000 was received. That institution is carrying out the benevolent views of Mr. Smithson in an admirable manner, for a time under the direction of Professor Joseph Henry, who was appointed secretary of the board of managers in 1846.

During President Tyler's administration, a spark of civil war appeared in Rhode Island, which seemed to demand the interference of the national government. The constitution of Rhode Island was the old charter granted by Charles the Second, and under it the people had prospered until 1842, when it was proposed to abandon it and make a new constitution. There was a wide difference of opinion as to the method to be pursued in making the change. A "Suffrage," or Radical party, and a "Law and Order," or Conservative party were formed. Each adopted a constitution and elected a governor and legislature under it; and in May and June, 1843,

both parties were armed in support of their respective claims. The State was on the verge of civil war, when the interference of national troops was invoked. The constitution of the "Law and Order" party was sustained, and no further trouble ensued.

This local agitation was followed by a national one. On the South-western borders of our Republic was a sovereign State called Texas, a part of the domain of ancient Mexico that was conquered by the Spaniards. The Mexicans revolted and set up an independent government, which became a Republic under a constitution similar to that of the United States, and was divided into nineteen States and five Territories; Texas was one of the former. The Mexican government encouraged emigration into that State, and in 1833, full ten thousand Americans were settled there. Santa Anna, a restless, unscrupulous and selfish intriguer and revolutionist, had made himself military dictator of Mexico. The people of Texas, unwilling to submit to his arbitrary rule, revolted, and in 1836 that State was declared to be independent. Santa Anna was then in that country with a heavy military force; but at a battle near the San Jacinto River, late in April, he was defeated by General Houston and made a prisoner. This ended the war for Texan independence, and that independence was acknowledged by the United States in the spring of 1837. But the people of Texas were continually harassed by Mexican marauders; and when in 1843 President Tyler made a proposition to the President of that Republic for its annexation to the United States, it was gladly accepted. A treaty to that effect was negotiated, and it was signed in April, 1844, by the Texan commissioner and John C. Calhoun, who was then Secretary of State; but the Senate rejected it.

The country was soon afterward violently agitated by discussions on the subject of annexation. The chief point of antagonism lay in the slavery question, the friends of that institution being all in favor of the measure, while its opponents were firmly opposed to it, for they regarded it as a plan for strengthening the political power of the slave-labor States; also because it would surely lead to a war with Mexico, for that government had never given up its claim to Texas as one of the States of the Republic. This question entered largely into the canvass for the Presidency in 1844. For that high office James K. Polk of Tennessee, who was warmly in favor of the annexation of Texas, was nominated by the Democrats, and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was named for Vice-President. They were elected over the opposing Whig candidates, Henry Clay of Kentucky and Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey.

During the following winter, President Tyler was deprived of the

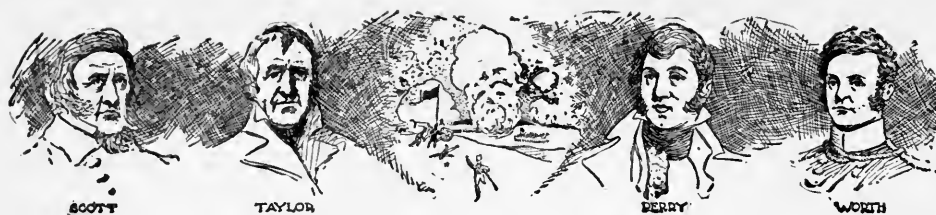
services of two of his most trusted cabinet officers. Late in February, 1845, he, with all his cabinet, many members of Congress and other distinguished citizens, with several ladies, were on board the United States steamship of war *Princeton*, on a trial trip down the Potomac. When they were opposite Mount Vernon, one of the largest guns of the *Princeton* was fired, when it bursted. Its fragments killed the Secretary of State, Abel P. Upshur, and T. W. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy; also David Gardiner of New York, whose daughter the President soon afterward married. John C. Calhoun was appointed to succeed Secretary Upshur, and John Y. Mason was made successor of Secretary Gilmer. Mr. Calhoun urged forward the Texas annexation scheme with great zeal and ability.

The region known as Oregon had been a matter of dispute at an early day between the United States and Great Britain. In the year 1792, Captain Gray of Boston, in the ship *Columbia*, entered the mouth of the great river of that region and gave the name of his vessel to the stream. When a report of this fact was pressed upon the attention of President Jefferson, he sent Captains Lewis and Clark on an overland expedition to the Pacific Coast at the mouth of that river. The exploration was accomplished in 1804-1806; and this transaction, with the discovery by Captain Gray, gave to the United States a title to the region watered by the Columbia River, according to the British interpretation of the law of nations. The region so watered extended to the parallel of 54° 40' north latitude. By the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, the United States acquired whatever title to that domain France had possessed. But the British government, instigated by the Hudson's Bay Company, claimed Oregon. Finally, by a treaty made in 1818, it was agreed that citizens of both nations should jointly occupy it for ten years. This was renewed for an indefinite period, each party having the right to end the agreement at any time by giving twelve months notice to the other. Such notice was given by the United States in 1839, and preparations were made for the occupation of the territory by American citizens. Great Britain then claimed the whole of Oregon. The United States offered to compromise by drawing the northern line of its possessions there, along the parallel of 49° 40'. The British persisted in their claim, and during the political canvass of 1844, "Texas" and "Oregon" became a part of the battle-cry of the Democrats. At their convention in Baltimore they had declared by resolution "that our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power; and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas [it had been claimed as a part of Louisiana, purchased of France] at the earliest practicable period, are great

American measures which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the democracy of the Union." The former proposition was popular in the North, and the latter was popular in the South and secured the election of Polk and Dallas. The war-cry of "Fifty-four forty, or fight!" was often heard during the canvass. A compromise was finally effected with Great Britain. The northern boundary of our Republic in that region was fixed at the parallel of 49°; and in 1848 the Territory of Oregon was organized. In February, 1859, it was admitted into the Union as a State.

The closing act of Mr. Tyler's administration was an imitation of President Jackson's "pocket veto." A bill making appropriations for certain harbors and rivers had passed both houses at near the close of the session, and was sent to the President for his signature. He retained it until the session had closed; and so, without formally vetoing it, he prevented its becoming a law.

At the close of his administration, on the 4th of March, 1845, Mr. Tyler, the tenth President of the United States, and then fifty-five years of age, retired to private life, where he remained a greatly respected "private citizen" until the Civil war broke out, when he took an active part with the enemies of the Republic. He died at Richmond, Virginia, in January, 1862.



CHAPTER CV.

President Polk—Relations between the United States and Mexico—Annexation of Texas—Preparations for War—Bargain with Santa Anna and Its Result—Army of Occupation in Texas—General Taylor and Troops on the Rio Grande—Generals Ampudia and Taylor—Fort Brown Constructed—First Bloodshed—A Mexican Force in Texas—Attack on Fort Brown—Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma—General Taylor Enters Mexico—Declarations of War by the Two Governments—Plan of a Campaign—Siege and Capture of Monterey—Santa Anna in Mexico—General Wool in Mexico—Conquests by the Navy—General Scott Calls for Taylor's Troops—Battle of Buena Vista—Movements of General Taylor—Events in Northern Mexico—Conquest of New Mexico and California.

MR. POLK, the eleventh President of the United States, was a native of North Carolina, but was a citizen of Tennessee from early childhood ; and from 1825, when he was thirty years of age, he was almost constantly a representative of that State, in Congress, until he was elected to the Presidency, a period of twenty years. He entered upon the duties of that high office at a critical period in the history of our country, for it was on the verge of a war with the sister republic of Mexico, chiefly on account of the annexation of the revolted province of Texas, the independence of which had been acknowledged by the United States, France and England, and which that State had maintained nine years.

The friendship between the United States and Mexico had been extinguished some years before the annexation of Texas, because of repeated aggressions which had been made by the many succeeding rulers of our unfortunate neighbor, against the property of American citizens on the soil of that country or on vessels on the Gulf of Mexico. Redress had been frequently sought in vain. Our government generously forbore to use its power because Mexico was weak and distracted, and the latter seemed to consider that forbearance as an evidence of cowardice. Our government claimed six million dollars for spoliations of American property ; Mexico acknowledged two million as a just claim, but after repeated postponements of the payment of this amount, the government of Mexico virtually refused to settle the claim. This conduct alienated the confidence and respect of our government and people for Mexico ; and yet, in all the discussions con-

cerning the annexation of Texas, propositions were made with special reference to the good faith of treaties made with Mexico. That government, conscious of its inability to hold Texas, had offered to acknowledge its independence, provided it would not become annexed to our Union. Such was the situation when the joint resolution providing for the annexation of Texas was adopted by both Houses of Congress on the 28th of February, 1845, and was signed by President Tyler on the first day of March.

Two days after the inauguration of President Polk, General Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, asked and received his passports, and diplomatic relations between the governments ceased. The President of Mexico, Herrera, issued a proclamation in June following, declaring that the annexation of Texas in no wise destroyed the rights of Mexico, and that they would be maintained by force of arms. Both governments prepared for war when, on the 4th of July, 1845, Texas became a State of our Union. Satisfied that war was inevitable, President Polk ordered brevet Brigadier-General Zachary Taylor, then in command of national troops in the southwest, to enter Texas and take a position as near the Rio Grande as prudence would allow. His little force of fifteen hundred men were called an "Army of Occupation" for the defence of the newly-acquired State.



JAMES KNOX POLK.

At the same time Commodore Conner, of the United States navy, was sent with a strong squadron into the Gulf of Mexico to protect American interests in that region, ashore and afloat.

At that time, Santa Anna was an irritated exile in Cuba, having been banished from Mexico for ten years, and President Polk made a secret bargain with him for the betrayal of his country into the hands of the government of the United States. The plan that was agreed upon was simple. The President was to send a strong force toward the frontier of Mexico. Santa Anna was to go into his own country, where an army

gathered near that frontier would be sure to "pronounce" for him as their leader, and then the war was to begin. The President was to furnish a force sufficient to give Santa Anna a decent excuse for surrendering his army to it; and so the Americans might easily take possession of Mexico. For this important act Santa Anna was to receive a very large sum of money from the secret service fund in the hands of the President. The Army of Occupation or Observation, as it was alternately called, was sent into Texas, as we have seen, and A. Slidell McKenzie, of the United States navy, was sent to Cuba to perfect the arrangement with Santa Anna, who was living a few miles from Havana. Instead of going secretly to the retreat of the exile, the vain McKenzie, dressed in the full uniform of our naval officers, entered a *volante* in Havana, at noon-day, and in sight of all the people rode out to the dwelling-place of Santa Anna. This fully disconcerted the whole plan. After this public visit from an officer of our navy, the exile could not fulfill his bargain in Mexico, for the act would make his treason palpable.

General Taylor landed with his troops on the Island of St. Joseph, where the flag of the United States was first unfurled in power over the soil of Texas; for from the moment of the act of annexation, our government regarded Texas as part of our domain, and entitled to the full security which our flag could give. From St. Joseph's, General Taylor sailed with his troops to Corpus Christi, a Mexican village on the main, beyond the Neuces and not far from its mouth, and there, in September (1845), he formed a camp and tarried during the autumn and the ensuing winter. At the same time, President Polk inquired of the Mexican government whether it would receive a minister from the United States. President Herrera, who sincerely desired peace, gave an affirmative answer, when his countrymen, who were in favor of war, offended by this act, revolted and elected General Paredes in his place. This revolution was going on when our minister arrived, and Paredes, when elected, refused to receive him.

Soon after Taylor reached Corpus Christi, he was reinforced by seven companies of infantry under Major Brown, and two companies of volunteer artillery under Major Gally. Early in the following year (1846) he was ordered to take a position on the left bank of the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican city of Matamoras, for it was observed that Mexican troops were gathering there with the evident intention of invading Texas. The region on the left bank of the Rio Grande, fronting the State of Tamaulipas, was disputed territory, the boundary line between that State and Texas not having been defined. Mexico claimed it as a part of Tamaulipas, while the United States claimed it as a part of Texas. General Taylor obeyed his orders and went into that territory, landing at Point Isabel, about twenty-

eight miles from Matamoras, where he formed a camp, despite the warnings of the Mexicans that he was on foreign soil. Leaving his stores and a part of his army there, he proceeded with the remainder of his force to the bank of the Rio Grande opposite Matamoras, and there began the construction of a fort large enough to accommodate about two thousand men. It was called Fort Brown in compliment to Major Brown, who was left in command there.

Paredes, the successor of Herrera, immediately sent General Ampudia with a considerable force to drive Taylor beyond the Neuces. On the day after his arrival (April 12, 1846) Ampudia sent a letter to Taylor, demanding the withdrawal of his troops within twenty-four hours, and saying: "If you insist in remaining upon the soil of the department of Tamaulipas, it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question." This General Taylor refused to do, as he was upon the soil of the United States. Ampudia hesitated, and twelve days afterward he was succeeded in the chief command there by the more energetic General Arista, chief of the northern division of the army of Mexico. It being reported that Arista had been reinforced, the work on Fort Brown was carried on most vigorously. A week after Ampudia's demand, General Taylor was informed that two vessels laden with supplies for the Mexicans were about to enter the Rio Grande, when he ordered the river to be blockaded by a brig and a revenue cutter. Arista regarded this as an act of war, and prepared to attack Fort Brown. Meanwhile parties of Mexicans had crossed the river and gotten between General Taylor and Point Isabel, cutting off all communication with his stores there. It was known that Arista's army was hourly increasing in strength, and other armed parties of Mexicans were trying to cross the river, above Taylor's encampment. The latter sent a party under Captain Thornton to reconnoitre, and nearly the whole command of that officer were surprised and captured. Thornton escaped only by the extraordinary leap of his horse over a thick hedge, followed by harmless bullets. Lieutenant Mason was killed, and his was the first blood shed in the war with Mexico. That was on the 24th of April, 1846.

General Taylor was satisfied from reports that reached him, that a Mexican force was gathering on the Texas side of the Rio Grande, to attempt a capture of his supplies at Point Isabel; and on the first of May, having nearly finished Fort Brown, he placed a competent garrison in it under Major Brown, and with the remainder of his army made a forced march in the direction of his stores. He arrived at Point Isabel the same day, without molestation. Supposing this movement to be a retreat, Arista ordered troops to cross the river and gain the rear of Fort Brown. This

was done, and on the night of the 4th of May, the Mexicans erected a battery behind the fort; and early the next morning they opened a tremendous fire from it upon the fortification. At the same time batteries at Matamoros, which had fired upon the fort on the 3d, hurled shot and shell with very little effect, for Major Brown had erected strong bomb-proof shelters; yet almost at the beginning, that gallant officer was killed. The bombardment continued about thirty-six hours, when Arista sent a summons for a surrender. This was refused, and toward the evening of the 6th, another storm of shot and shell was poured upon the fort.

General Taylor ordered Major Brown to fire heavy signal guns if the fort seemed to be in peril. These were fired on the evening of the 6th of May, and on the following evening, Taylor, with more than two thousand men, marched from Point Isabel to relieve Fort Brown. He had been reinforced by Texan volunteers and marines from the fleet. At noon on the 8th they encountered a Mexican army six thousand strong, led by General Arista, upon a portion of a prairie flanked by ponds of water and beautified by tall trees, which gave it the name of "Palo Alto." Nothing daunted, Taylor and his men attacked this superior force, and fought them so desperately for five hours, that at twilight the Mexicans gave way and fled in great disorder. The victory for Taylor was thorough and complete; and when the battle was ended, the victors sank, exhausted, upon the ground. They had lost in killed and wounded, fifty-three men; the Mexicans had lost about six hundred. During the engagement, Major Ringgold, commander of the American flying artillery which did terrible work in the Mexican ranks, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball that passed through one thigh, the body of his horse, and the other thigh. Rider and steed fell to the ground. The latter was dead; the Major died at Point Isabel four days afterward. Meanwhile Fort Brown had defied the shot and shell from the Mexican batteries; and when, on the 8th, the thunder of cannon at Palo Alto announced Taylor's approach, the garrison took fresh courage and held out. Their works had endured a cannonade and bombardment for about one hundred and sixty hours without receiving much hurt.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 9th of May, Taylor's army were awakened from their slumbers on the battle-field to resume their march for Fort Brown. Their leader prepared for an attack on the way, for the broken forces of the enemy had been rallied; but he saw no traces of the enemy until toward evening, when, as the Americans emerged from a dense thicket, the Mexicans were discovered strongly posted in battle order in a broad ravine that indented a prairie, called Resaca de la Palma or "Dry River of Palms." The ravine was about four feet deep and two hundred feet wide,

and was fringed with palmetto trees. It was the bed of continuous pools of water in the rainy season, but was dusty in the dry season. Within that trench the Mexicans had planted a battery that swept the road over which the Americans were marching. Taylor pressed forward, and after some severe skirmishing, in which a part of his army was engaged, he ordered Captain May, leader of dragoons, to charge upon the battery. That gallant officer instantly obeyed. Rising in his stirrups, he called out to his troops: "Remember your regiment! Men, follow!" and dashing forward in the



THE CHARGE OF CAPTAIN MAY.

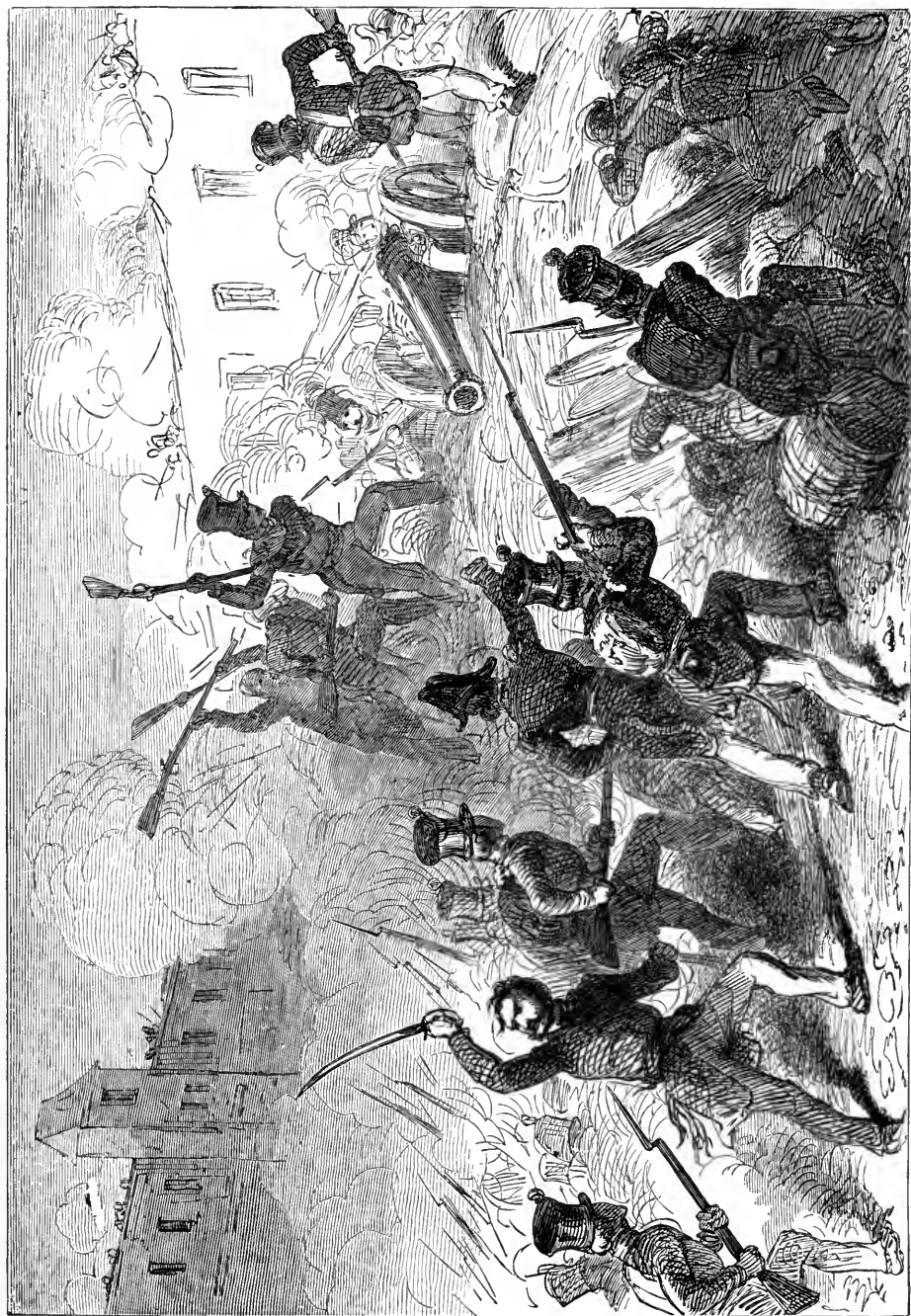
face of a shower of balls from the battery, he made his powerful black horse leap the parapet. He was followed by a few of his men, whose steeds made the fearful leap. The gunners were killed, and General La Vega (who was about to apply a match to one of the pieces) and a hundred men were seized by the troopers, made prisoners, and were borne away in triumph within the American lines. The battle went on, growing hotter every moment. The almost impenetrable thicket was alive with Mexicans, and blazed with the fire of their muskets. The strife was terrible for some time; but at length the camp and headquarters of General Arista, the commander-in-chief, were captured, and the enemy were completely routed. Arista saved himself by flight, and, unattended, he made his way across the Rio Grande. So sudden

was his discomfiture and departure that the plate and other private property of Arista, with correspondence, arms, ammunition and equipments for several thousand men, and two thousand horses, fell into the hands of the victors. La Vega and a few other captive officers were sent on parole to New Orleans. It was estimated that the Mexicans had over seven thousand men on that battle-field: the Americans had less than two thousand. The former lost about a thousand men: the latter one hundred and ten. The Mexican army was completely broken up.

Leaving the battle-field of Resaca de la Palma, General Taylor returned to Point Isabel to make arrangements with Commodore Connor for future work, and then proceeded to Fort Brown to commence offensive operations there. The terrified Mexicans trembled for the safety of Matamoras, when Arista sent a deputation to Taylor to ask for an armistice until the two governments should arrange the dispute. The latter would not trust the treacherous Mexican, and refused the boon. It was afterward ascertained that during the conference Arista had removed a large quantity of ammunition and stores, and during the succeeding night (May 17, 1846) retreated with his troops which he had rallied, to the open country toward Monterey. Hearing of this, Taylor crossed the river (May 18) with his army, and, for the first time, unfurled the American flag over undisputed Mexican soil.

When news of the attack on Captain Thornton and his party on Texas soil, on the 24th of April, and a knowledge of the critical situation of the Army of Occupation, spread over the country, the people were aroused; and before the two brilliant victories of Taylor were known at Washington, Congress (then in session) had declared that "by the act of the republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States." They authorized the President to accept fifty thousand volunteers, and appropriated ten million dollars for carrying on the contest. This declaration of war was made on the 13th of May, and on the 23d of the same month, the government of Mexico made a formal declaration of war against the United States. The American Secretary of War (Wm. L. Marcy) and General Winfield Scott, then general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, immediately made a magnificent plan for prosecuting the war. A fleet was to sweep around Cape Horn and attack the Pacific coast of Mexico; an "Army of the West" was to gather at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River, to invade New Mexico and co-operate with the Pacific fleet, and an "Army of the Centre" was to rendezvous at San Antonio de Bexar, in the heart of Texas, to invade old Mexico from the north.

The news of Taylor's victories produced great joy in the United States. Illuminations, bonfires and cannon-peals in all the chief cities, were the out-



THE TAKING OF MONTEREY

ward demonstrations of delight, and, for the moment, the war was generally popular. Meanwhile General Taylor, who was called "Rough and Ready" by his soldiers, was preparing for the achievement of other victories in the land he had invaded. He remained at Matamoras until the beginning of September waiting for instructions from his government, and reinforcements for his army. Then the first division of his troops under General W. J. Worth moved toward Monterey, the strongly fortified capital of New Leon, which was then defended by about nine thousand troops commanded by General Ampudia. Taylor joined Worth, and, on the 19th of September, they encamped within three miles of that city with almost seven thousand men. On the night of the 20th, Worth moved nearer the town, and on the following day he attacked it. Joined by other divisions of the army, the assault became general on the 23d, and a conflict in the streets was dreadful. From the strong stone houses, the Mexicans poured volleys of musketry upon the invaders, and the carnage was severe. Finally, on the 4th day of the siege, Ampudia asked for a truce. It was granted, and he proposed to evacuate the city. Taylor would grant no other terms than absolute *surrender*, which was done on the 24th of September. Leaving General Worth in command at Monterey, Taylor encamped at Walnut Springs, a few miles from that city, and there awaited further orders from his government. Santa Anna had gone into Mexico, and was now at the head of its army; and having given assurances that he desired peace, Taylor agreed to a cessation of hostilities for eight weeks, if permitted by his government. In the siege of Monterey, the Americans lost over five hundred men, and the Mexicans about double that number.

Congress had directed General John E. Wool to muster and prepare for service the rapidly gathering volunteers authorized by that body, at San Antonio. So promptly did he perform that duty, that by the middle of July twelve thousand of them had been inspected and mustered into the service. Of these, nine thousand were sent to the Rio Grande to reinforce General Taylor's army, and the remainder were disciplined by Wool preparatory to an invasion of Chihuahua, one of the richest provinces of Mexico. With them, three thousand in number, Wool went up the Rio Grande, and on the last day of October (1846) he was at Monclova, seventy miles northwest from Monterey, where his kind treatment of the inhabitants won their confidence and esteem, and they regarded him as a friend instead of an enemy. There Wool heard of the capture of Monterey, and acting upon the advice of General Taylor, he abandoned the project of penetrating Chihuahua and marched to the fertile district of Parras in Coahuila, where he obtained an abundance of supplies for the two armies.

When General Taylor informed his government of the capture of Monterey, he called for reinforcements for his own army, and recommended the landing of twenty-five thousand troops at Vera Cruz. He received such instructions from the Secretary of War, that he gave notice that the armistice at Monterey would cease on the 13th of November. General Worth marched on the 12th with nine hundred men for Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, and was followed the next day by General Taylor, who left General Butler in command at the conquered city. Saltillo was taken possession of on the 15th of November, and just a month afterward Taylor set out for Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, with a considerable force, intending to march upon and attack Tampico, on the coast. Commodore Conner had already captured that place (November 14), and Commodore Perry had also taken possession of Tobasco and Tuspan. Being informed of a rumor that Santa Anna, who had entered Mexico, was collecting a large force at San Luis Potosi to attack Worth at Saltillo, Taylor marched to Monterey to reinforce that officer, if necessary. There he received word that General Wool had reached Saltillo with his division, when Taylor again marched for Victoria, which place he occupied on the 29th of December.

Just as General Taylor was preparing to enter upon a vigorous winter campaign, he was compelled to endure a severe trial of his patience, temper, and patriotism. In accordance with his recommendation, his government had sent General Scott, with a considerable force, to attempt the capture of Vera Cruz, and from that point to penetrate to the Mexican capital. Scott arrived off Vera Cruz in January, 1847, and being the senior officer of the army, he assumed the chief command of the American armies in Mexico. To effect the work which his government had ordered him to do, he felt compelled to draw from General Taylor's army a large number of his best officers, and a greater portion of his regular troops, leaving him with only about five thousand effective men, including the division of General Wool; and of them only five hundred were regulars. Like a true soldier, Taylor, though greatly mortified, instantly obeyed the chief's order to that effect. At that time Santa Anna had gathered an army of twenty thousand men at San Luis Potosi. He had also been elected Provisional President of Mexico in December, and his followers were full of enthusiasm when, on the first of February, he began a march toward Saltillo, with the avowed intention of drawing the Americans beyond the Rio Grande. General Wool, at Saltillo, had kept his commander advised of the movements of Santa Anna; and when Taylor was assured that the Mexicans were really moving against him, he resolved, weak as he was in numbers, to fight them. On the 31st

of January he left Monterey with all his troops, and reached Saltillo on the 2d of February. He pushed on to Aqua Nueva, twenty miles south of Saltillo, on the San Luis road, and encamped until the 21st, when he fell back to Augustina, a narrow defile in the mountains facing the estate of Buena Vista, and there encamped in battle order to await the approach of Santa Anna. His position was well chosen. It was near a narrow gorge in the mountains, through which the approaching Mexican army must pass—a sort of Thermopylæ.

On the morning of the 22d of February (1847), Santa Anna and his army were within two miles of Taylor's line of battle, when the Mexican chief sent the following note to the American leader:

"You are surrounded by 20,000 men, and cannot, in any human probability, avoid suffering a rout, and being cut to pieces, with your troops; but as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from such a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice in order that you may surrender at discretion, under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character; to which end you will be granted an hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment that my flag of truce arrives at your camp. With this view, I assure you of my particular consideration. God and Liberty!

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA."

General Taylor, who was always "ready," did not take an hour to consider the matter, but immediately replied:

"SIR—In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request. With high respect, I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR."

Both armies now prepared to fight. The Americans waited for the Mexicans to take the initiative. It was deferred until evening excepting some skirmishing that afternoon and all that night. While the American troops were bivouacked without fire and slept on their arms, the Mexicans were in detachments in the mountains above them, trying to form a cordon of soldiers around the little army of Taylor and Wool, then less than five thousand in number. Early in the morning of the 23d the battle began and continued all day. The struggle was terribly severe, and the slaughter was fearful. Until almost sunset it was doubtful who would triumph. Then the

Mexican leader, after performing the pitiful trick of displaying a flag in token of surrender, to throw Taylor off his guard, made a desperate assault on the American centre, where that officer was in command in person. That centre stood like a rock against the billow. The batteries of Bragg, Washington and Sherman, rolled back the martial wave, and it was not long before the Mexican lines began to waver. General Taylor, standing near the battery of Captain Bragg, saw the signs of weakness and coolly said: "Give them a



"GIVE THEM A LITTLE MORE GRAPE."

little more grape!" Bragg did so, when, just at twilight, the Mexicans gave way and fled in considerable confusion. Night closed the battle; but expecting it to be resumed in the morning, the Americans again slept on their arms; but when the day dawned, no enemy was to be seen. Santa Anna had fallen back to Aqua Nueva, and, in the course of a few days, his large but utterly amazed and dispirited army was almost dissolved. In the flight they had left five hundred of their comrades dead or dying on the field. They had lost in the battle almost two thousand men; the loss of the

Americans in killed, wounded and missing, was seven hundred and forty-six. A son of Henry Clay was among the slain.

On the day of the battle of Buena Vista, Captain Webster, and a small party of Americans, drove General Minon and eight hundred Mexicans from Saltillo. Three days afterward, Colonels Morgan and Irvin defeated some of the enemy in a skirmish at Aqua Frio, and on the 7th of March Major Giddings was victorious in a conflict at Ceralvo. Meanwhile General Taylor had marched for Walnut Springs, near Monterey, where he remained almost inactive, several months, and in September (1847) he returned home, where he was received with the liveliest demonstrations of respect and honor because of his achievements. Three years afterward he was elected President of the United States by the votes of the Whig party.

While these operations were in progress near the Gulf, other events of importance were occurring in the northern part of Mexico. Stephen W. Kearney, of New Jersey, who had been brevetted major-general late in 1846, was placed in command of the "Army of the West" at Fort Leavenworth, in the spring of 1847, with instructions to conquer New Mexico and California. Before this time, Captain John C. Fremont, who had been sent by our government, with about sixty men, to explore portions of New Mexico and California, had become involved in hostilities with the Mexicans on the Pacific coast. When he approached Monterey, on that coast, he was opposed by General Castro and a strong party of Mexicans. Fremont retired to a mountain position, where he called around him the American settlers in that region, and captured a Mexican post at Sonoma Pass (June 15, 1846), with nine cannons and two hundred and fifty muskets. After some more skirmishing, Castro was routed, the Mexicans were driven from that region, and on the 5th of July the Americans there declared themselves independent, and placed Fremont at the head of public affairs. Two days afterward, Commodore Sloat, who was in command of an American squadron on the Pacific coast, bombarded and captured Monterey; and on the 9th, Commodore Montgomery took possession of San Francisco. Almost a week later, Commodore Stockton arrived on that station and succeeded Sloat in command; and on the 17th of August he and Fremont took possession of the city of Los Angeles (city of the angels), near the Pacific coast, now the capital of Los Angeles county, California.

General Kearney left Fort Leavenworth with sixteen hundred men, in June, and on the 18th of August, after a march of almost nine hundred miles, he arrived at Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico. He had traversed great plains and rugged mountain passes, without opposition; and as he approached Santa Fé, the governor and four thousand Mexican troops fled, leaving

the six thousand inhabitants of the city to quietly surrender it. Kearney took formal possession of the State, appointed Charles Bent governor, and then pushed on toward California. He soon met a messenger from Stockton and Fremont, informing him that the conquest of California was already achieved, when Kearney sent the main body of his troops back to Santa Fé, and with one hundred men he pushed on toward Los Angeles. There, on the 27th of December (1846), Kearney met Stockton and Fremont, and these three officers shared in the honors of events which, soon afterward, accomplished the complete conquest and pacification of California. Fremont, the real liberator of California from the Mexican yoke, claimed the right to be governor of the territory, and was supported by Stockton and the people; but General Kearney, his superior officer, would not acquiesce in the arrangement. At Monterey, Kearney, assuming the office of governor, proclaimed (February 8, 1847) the annexation of California to the United States. Fremont refused to obey him, and was ordered home to be tried on a charge of disobedience. His commission of lieutenant-colonel, which he had received, was taken from him, but the President offered to restore it. Fremont refused it, and went again to the wilderness to engage in explorations. Kearney remained in command on the Pacific coast until May (1847), when he returned home, leaving Colonel Mason as military governor of California.

While Kearney was on his march for the Pacific coast, Colonel Doniphan, of his command, at the head of a thousand Missourians, was performing signal services. He compelled the Navajo Indians to make a treaty of peace, late in November (1846), and then he marched toward Chihuahua to join General Wool. At Braceti, in the valley of the Rio del Norte, he encountered a Mexican force under General Ponce de Leon, who sent a black flag to Doniphan and a message, saying:—"We will neither ask nor give quarter." This was immediately followed by the advance of the Mexicans, who fired three volleys. The Americans had all fallen on their faces. Supposing them to be dead, the Mexicans rushed forward to plunder them, when the Americans sprang to their feet, and poured such a deadly fire upon their assailants that two hundred Mexicans were killed. The remainder, astonished, fled in great disorder. Doniphan pressed on, and when within eighteen miles of the capital of Chihuahua, he was confronted by about four thousand Mexicans (February 28, 1847), whom he attacked and dispersed, and then entered the city in triumph. There, in the midst of a population of forty thousand souls, he unfurled the American flag over the citadel. He lost eighteen men in the engagement; and the Mexicans lost about six hundred.

Doniphan rested six weeks in Chihuahua, when he joined Wool at Saltillo late in May. Then he proceeded to New Orleans, having made a march from the Mississippi and back of about five thousand miles. The conquest of all Northern Mexico and California was now complete. Some conspiracies against the new government in New Mexico ripened into revolt in January, 1847, when Governor Bent and others were murdered. Massacres occurred at various places. The insurgents were defeated at Canada, by troops under Colonel Price, and were scattered at the Pass of Embudo. Permanent peace was then secured.

By these conquests New Mexico, one of the places in the interior of the North American continent earliest visited by the Spaniards, became a permanent portion of the domain of our country. It was first traversed by the white race in the persons of Cabeça de Vaca and the remnant of those who followed Narvaez to Florida. They reached New Mexico some time in 1536, when de Vaca sent a report of what he saw to the viceroy of Mexico. Expeditions were sent into that region from Mexico, and one of them penetrated to the Rio Grande. That company were the first Europeans who saw the bison, or buffalo, on our continent. Castaneda, the historian of the expedition, calls the animal "a new kind of ox, wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourscore, which sufficed the army with flesh."



CHAPTER CVI.

Capture of Vera Cruz—March toward the Capital of Mexico—Battle of Cerro Gordo—Flight of Santa Anna—Capture of Jalapa, Perote, and Pueblo—A Wonderful Campaign—Peace Propositions Rejected—March over the Cordilleras—Defences of the Mexican Capital—Battles near that City—Failure of Negotiations for Peace—Conquest of the Empire—Treaty of Peace—Gold Found in California—Results of the War with Mexico—Election and Inauguration of General Taylor as President of the Republic—California Seeks Admission into the Union—Violent Debates on the Subject of Slavery—Its Temporary Settlement by a Compromise—Death of President Taylor—Accession of President Fillmore—Compromise Bills Passed—Invasion of Cuba.

IN the month of February, 1847, powerful land and naval forces were concentrated in the Gulf of Mexico. The military were under the command of Major-General Winfield Scott, and the vessels were in charge of Commodore Connor, who was afterward succeeded by Commodore M. C. Perry. The troops were gathered at Lobos Island, about one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Vera Cruz; and on the 9th of March about thirteen thousand of them, designed for the conquest of Mexico, were landed near that city, which was considered the key of the country. Upon an island opposite was a very strong fortress, called the Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, which the Mexicans regarded as impregnable. This fortress and the city were completely invested four days after the debarkation, and on the 22d, Scott and Connor were ready to begin the siege. On that day Scott summoned the city and fortress to surrender; and when the demand was refused, shells from seven mortars on land (soon increased to nine) were hurled upon the city. The engineering work for the siege had been skillfully prepared by the late General Totten.

For about four days a furious cannonade and bombardment were kept up on land and water. The Mexicans in the city suffered dreadfully, and on the morning of the 26th the commander made overtures for a surrender. That event occurred on the 29th, when five thousand Mexicans marched out to a plain about a mile from Vera Cruz, and then laid down their arms, gave up their flags, and returned to the interior on parole. The city and fortress, with five hundred pieces of artillery and a large amount of muni-

tions of war, passed into the possession of the Americans. During the siege the victors had lost about eighty men in killed and wounded; the loss of the Mexicans was fearful. About a thousand were killed, and many were wounded. Scott had tried to induce the governor of Vera Cruz to send the women and children and foreign residents out of the city before the bombardment began, but he refused, and many of them perished.

General Scott now made preparations to march for the Mexican capital by way of the Great National Road from Vera Cruz. Leaving General Worth as temporary governor at Vera Cruz, and a sufficient garrison for the castle, he moved forward on the 8th of April with about eight thousand men toward Jalapa, General Twiggs leading his division in advance. Meanwhile General Santa Anna, by extraordinary efforts after the defeat and dispersion of his army at Buena Vista, had gathered a force of about twelve thousand men from among the Sierras of Orizaba, and concentrated them upon the Heights of Cerro Gordo—a difficult mountain-pass at the foot of the eastern slope of the Cordilleras. There he was strongly fortified and was in Scott's path when, on the 13th of April, Twiggs came in sight. Scott arrived the next morning, reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and made preparations to attack him. On the 17th he issued a most remarkable general order to the army, in which he directed movements in the coming battle which, followed, led to victory, making that order appear almost prophetic in its details. The battle occurred on the 18th, and before sunset the Americans were victorious. It was fought at a wild place in the mountains. On one side was a deep dark river, on the other was a frowning declivity of rocks a thousand feet in height, bristling with batteries, while above all arose the strong fortress of Cerro Gordo. The place had to be taken by storm; and the party to do the work was composed of the regulars of Twiggs, led by the gallant Colonel Harney. Victory followed skill and bravery, and Cerro Gordo fell. Velasquez, the commander of the fortress, was killed, and the Mexican standard was hauled down by Sergeant Henry. Santa Anna, with Almonte and other generals, and eight thousand troops, escaped; the remainder were made prisoners. Santa Anna attempted to fly with his carriage, which contained a large amount of specie, but it was overturned, when, mounting a mule taken from his carriage, he escaped to the mountains, leaving behind him his wooden leg. In the vehicle was found his papers, clothing, and a pair of lady's satin slippers. The victory for the Americans was complete and decisive. The trophies were three thousand prisoners, who were paroled, forty-three bronze pieces of artillery cast in Seville, five thousand stand of arms (which were destroyed), and a large amount of munitions of war. The fugitives were pursued with vigor

toward Jalapa. In that battle the Americans lost four hundred and thirty-one men.

General Worth was now with the army, and with his division led the onward march. On the 19th they entered Jalapa; and a few days afterward (April 22d, 1847) Worth unfurled the American flag over the strong castle of Perote, on the summit of the Cordilleras, fifty miles beyond Jalapa. This



ESCAPE OF SANTA ANNA AT CERRO GORDO.

fortress was regarded as the strongest in Mexico after San Juan d'Ulloa. These places had been captured without resistance, for the Mexicans were appalled by the suddenness of the invasion and the swiftness of the conquests of the invaders. At Perote, the spoils were fifty-four pieces of artillery and an immense amount of munitions of war.

Onward the victors swept along the Great National Road over the Cordilleras, and on the 15th of May they halted at the fine "City of the Angels"—Pueblo de los Angeles—where they remained until August. In a campaign of two months, General Scott had made ten thousand Mexican prisoners of war, and captured seven hundred splendid pieces of artillery, ten

thousand muskets, and twenty thousand shots and shells; and yet, when he reached Pueblo, his whole effective marching force for the conquest of the capital did not exceed four thousand five hundred men. The demands for garrison duty and severe sickness had reduced his army about one-half.

While Scott was resting at Pueblo, an opportunity was given to the Mexicans to treat for peace. At Jalapa, the commander-in-chief issued a proclamation to the Mexican people, very conciliatory in character, but closing with this significant paragraph: "I am marching on Pueblo and Mexico; and from those capitals I shall again address you." The government also sent Nicholas P. Trist as a diplomatic agent, with letters to certain persons in Mexico, and clothed with power to treat for peace. He reached the army just as Scott left Jalapa, and went forward with it when it resumed its march. He had made overtures to the Mexican government, which were treated with disdain. The Mexicans foolishly boasted of their patriotism, valor and strength, while losing post after post in rapid succession.

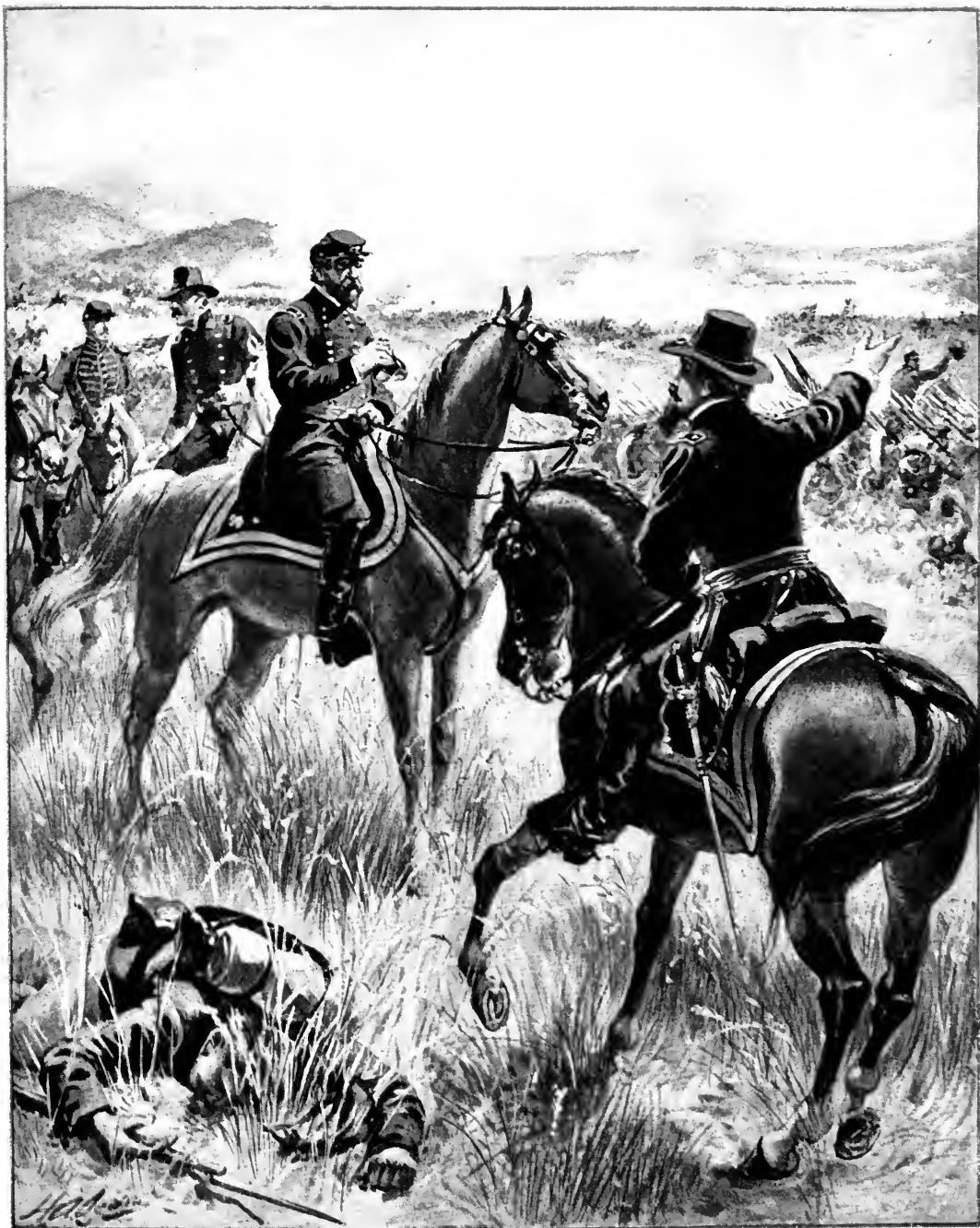
At Pueblo, Scott was reinforced by fresh troops, which had been sent by way of Vera Cruz. There his principal officers were Generals Worth, Quitman, Pillow, Twiggs, Shields, Smith, and Cadwallader; and on the 7th of August, he resumed his march toward the capital, with about eleven thousand men. The road lay nearly along the line of the march of Cortez, more than three hundred years before, over the Anahuac range of mountains, and up the slopes of the great Cordilleras. It was a most beautiful and picturesque region, well watered, clothed with rich verdure, and bathed in the most salubrious air. From the lofty summits of these mountains and almost upon the spot where Cortez stood, Scott and his army beheld, as the Spanish conquerors had there beheld, the great valley of Mexico, with its *intervalles* and lakes, cities and villages, and the waters of Tezcuco embracing the Mexican capital—the ancient metropolis of the Aztec empire—now presenting lofty steeples and spacious domes. Down into that valley the invaders cautiously pressed, for resistance was expected at the mountain-passes. General Twiggs, with his division, led, and on the 11th of August he was encamped at St. Augustine, with the strong fortress of San Antonio before him. Close upon his right were the heights of Churubusco, crowned with embattled walls covered with cannon, and to be reached in front only by a causeway exposed at every point to a raking fire from the batteries. Not far off was the strongly fortified camp of Contreras, containing about six thousand Mexicans under General Valencia; and between it and the capital was Santa Anna with twelve thou-

sand men, who were held in reserve. The whole of the invading army were concentrated in the valley by the 15th, with headquarters on the Acapulco road.

Such was the general disposition of the belligerent forces when General Scott arrived at headquarters on the morning of the 18th, and after surveying the whole scene, made arrangements for attacking the enemy and fighting his way to the gates of the city. That was a difficult task, for the capital was strongly defended at points nearer than those already mentioned, and approaches to it could only be made over narrow causeways through oozy ground, as in the time of Montezuma. Near the city was the hill of Chapultepec, which was strongly fortified and covered by a Military Institute, and at the foot of it, at the King's Mill (Molino del Rey), was a fortified stone wall and a citadel capable of great resistance. Every avenue to the city was guarded, and no point had been neglected. Chapultepec would have to be carried by storm, and so would the position at Molino del Rey and the strongholds of Contreras. San Antonio and Churubusco would have to be carried before these could be reached. To carry these, and capture Chapultepec and Molino del Rey, was now the important business to which Scott addressed himself.

Confronted by the victorious Americans, the Mexicans prepared for a desperate struggle. They strengthened their fortifications and increased their garrisons. The Americans were equally active, and prepared for the attack with great skill under the immediate direction of General Scott, ably assisted by Captain Robert E. Lee (general-in-chief of the Confederate forces in the great Civil War), the chief engineer of the army, whose services at Cerro Gordo and before Mexico won for him the commissions of major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel, in rapid succession.

On the evening of the 19th (August, 1847) everything was in readiness on the part of the Americans. The day had been spent in indecisive skirmishing. The night was very dark, rainy, and cold. The American troops stood, drenched, waiting for daylight, and when it appeared, they were led forward to storm the camp. The grand struggle began at sunrise. It was brief, but sharp and sanguinary. The Americans, under cover of darkness, had gained a position close upon the Mexicans, in rear and flank, before they were discovered. Springing up suddenly from behind the crest of a hill, they delivered volleys in quick succession; dashed pell-mell into the intrenchments; captured the batteries; drove out the army of Valencia, and pursued its flying remnants on the road toward Mexico. The conflict lasted only seventeen minutes. Eighty officers and three thousand privates of the Mexicans were made prisoners, and among the trophies were thirty-three



From the original painting by H. A. Ogden

MEADE IN THE WHIAT-FIELD, BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, JULY 2, 1863

pieces of artillery. Meanwhile Generals Shields and Pierce (the latter afterward President of the United States) had kept Santa Anna's powerful reserve at bay. A similar movement was now made against San Antonio and Churubusco. Santa Anna advanced with his numerous followers, to defend them, and very soon the whole region became a battle-field. The entire American and Mexican armies were engaged. The invaders dealt heavy and successful blows. San Antonio yielded, Churubusco was taken, and the forces of Santa Anna were sent flying toward the capital like chaff before a gale. Prisoners and spoils glutted the hands of the Americans. It was a memorable day in the annals of our military career. In the course of a single day, a Mexican army full thirty thousand strong, had been broken up by another less than one-third its strength in number; full four thousand Mexicans had been killed or wounded; three thousand were made prisoners, and thirty-seven pieces of fine artillery had been captured, with a vast amount of munitions of war. The Americans lost in killed and wounded, on that memorable day, almost eleven hundred men. They might easily have pressed on while the Mexicans were panic-stricken, and taken possession of their capital, but Scott preferred to try negotiations for peace again. He advanced to Tacubaya, on the 21st, within three miles of the capital, and there, and on the way, he was met by a proposition from Santa Anna for an armistice preparatory to negotiations for peace. It was acceded to, and Mr. Trist went into the capital on the 24th for the purpose. At the palace of the Archbishop at Tacubaya, which Scott made his headquarters, the General waited impatiently for the return of Mr. Trist. He came on the 5th of September with the information that his propositions for peace had not only been rejected with scorn, but that Santa Anna had violated the armistice by strengthening the defences of the city. General Scott, disgusted with the treachery of the Mexican chief, declared the armistice at an end on the 7th of September, and prepared to storm the capital.

The castle at Chapultepec, the walls and stone citadel at Molino del Rey, and the fortified gates of Mexico manned by thousands of Mexicans, yet stood between Scott and possession of the capital, and to the capture of these he proceeded on the 8th. The Americans were on one of the main causeways, in full view of the city. General Worth was sent, with between three and four thousand troops, to attack Molino del Rey, and they were repulsed, at first, with great slaughter. Gallantly returning to the assault and fighting desperately for an hour, they drove the enemy before them. Nearly one thousand Mexicans were dead on the field. The loss of the Americans was about eight hundred. Attention was now turned to Chapultepec, the site of the "Halls of the Montezumas," and then the only defence

of the city left, outside of its suburbs. On the night of the 11th of September, Scott erected four heavy batteries, the guns of which might be brought to bear upon the hill. These were opened on the morning of the 12th, and on the following morning the Americans made such a furious charge upon the works, that their occupants were routed with great slaughter and fled to the city along an aqueduct, pursued by General Quitman to the very gates. The pursuers were continually engaged in sharp encounters, at various places.

Santa Anna, thoroughly alarmed and his army hopelessly shattered, fled from the city with the remnant of his troops, and the officers of the civil



ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

government, before daylight on the morning of the 14th; and at dawn a deputation came out from the municipal authorities and begged General Scott to spare the town and propose terms of capitulation. He would make no terms, but ordered Generals Quitman and Worth to move forward and unfurl the American flag over the National Palace. At ten o'clock General Scott, escorted by dragoons, rode into the city in full uniform, on his powerful white charger, and made his way to the Grand Plaza. There he dismounted, took off his hat, and drawing his sword and raising it high above his head, he proclaimed in a loud voice the conquest of Mexico, and took formal possession of the empire.

Quiet soon reigned in the Mexican capital. Santa Anna afterward made feeble and unsuccessful efforts to regain his lost power. After some defeats in skirmishes with American detachments, his troops deserted him, and before the close of October he was a fugitive, flying for personal safety to the shores of the Gulf. The President of the Mexican Congress assumed provisional authority; and on the 2d of February, 1848, that body concluded a



GENERAL SCOTT ENTERING THE CITY OF MEXICO.

treaty of peace with commissioners of the United States, at Guadalupe Hidalgo. It was ratified by both governments, and President Polk proclaimed it on the 4th of July following. That treaty stipulated the evacuation of Mexico by the American army within three months, the payment of three million dollars in hand, and twelve million in four annual installments by the United States to Mexico, for the territory acquired by conquest; and, in addition, to assume debts due certain citizens of our republic

to the amount of three million five hundred thousand dollars. Boundary and other disputes were settled, and New Mexico and California became acknowledged territories of the United States. It was in the very month when the treaty was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, that gold was found at Captain Sutter's Mill on the American fork of the Sacramento River in California; and the official statement of the fact that gold was abundant in that territory, made in the President's message in December following, caused an emigration to the Pacific coast, not only from our States, but from other countries. Since then the yield of the precious metal there has been enormous; and in some of the other Territories in the western portion of our republic, immense quantities of silver, as well as gold, have been discovered.

Mr. Polk's administration, which closed in the spring of 1849, was chiefly distinguished by the events and results of the war with Mexico, and the settlement of the Oregon boundary question, already noticed. The war was very unpopular, at first, with a large proportion of our citizens; but the unparalleled achievements of our little army there first excited the pride of the Americans, and then aroused their enthusiasm, and the war very soon became popular. It was carried through in a manner highly honorable to our country, and its acquisition of territory not only enriched the republic but greatly extended its domain. In May, 1848, Wisconsin was admitted into the Union as a State, making the whole number of States thirty.

The exploits of General Zachary Taylor at an early period of the war with Mexico, made him exceedingly popular throughout the Union, and the Whig National Convention that assembled at Philadelphia on the 1st of June, 1848, nominated him for the Presidency of the republic, with Millard Fillmore for the Vice-Presidency. Both were elected in November following, and on the 5th of March, 1849 (the 4th fell on Sunday), he was inaugurated the twelfth President of the United States, Chief-Justice Taney administering the oath of office. General Taylor was eminently a "plain, blunt man," with no pretensions to polished manners, but with every characteristic of a true gentleman. He chose for his constitutional advisers John M. Clayton for Secretary of State; William M. Meredith, Secretary of the Treasury; George N. Crawford, Secretary of War; William B. Preston, Secretary of the Navy; Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, a department which had just been created; Jacob Collamer, Postmaster-General, and Reverdy Johnson, Attorney-General.

President Taylor's administration was marked by events which led to very important results. In August, 1849, General Riley, then military governor of California, summoned a convention of delegates to meet at Monterey, on the Pacific coast, to form a State constitution. California had

not yet been organized as a Territory ; but it was so rapidly filling up with the elements of a new and powerful State, that its speedy admission into the Union as such seemed probable. These elements were then principally gold-seekers, who were mostly enterprising young men. The convention met, and on the first of September (1849) they adopted a State constitution, an article of which excluded slavery from that Territory forever. This action—



GENERAL SCOTT PROCLAIMING THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

the actual formation of a State by the voice of the people—was accomplished twenty months after gold was first found at Sutter's Mill. It produced warm debates in and out of Congress, and excited a violent controversy throughout the republic on the subject of slavery, which ended only when that institution was utterly destroyed.

Under their State constitution, the Californians elected Edward Gilbert

and G. H. Wright, delegates to the National House of Representatives ; and the State Legislature, at its first session, appointed John Charles Fremont and William M. Gwinn, United States Senators. The latter carried the State constitution with them to Washington city, and in February they presented a petition to Congress, praying for the admission of California into the Union of States. It was perceived that a compromise on the subject of slavery must be effected to avoid serious difficulty, for the supporters of the system of slave-labor boldly declared their intention to dismember the republic, if California should be admitted into the Union with its constitution forbidding the existence of slavery in that domain. A joint resolution was offered for the appointment of a committee of thirteen to consider the subject of territorial governments for California, New Mexico and Deseret (the latter settled chiefly by a Mormon community), with instructions to report a plan of compromise embracing all the questions then arising out of the institution of slavery. The resolution was adopted in April, and Mr. Clay was made chairman of the committee. He had already submitted a plan of compromise to the Senate, and spoke eloquently in favor of it ; and on the 8th of May he, in behalf of the committee of thirteen, reported a bill intended as a pacificator. It provided for the admission of California as a State ; for a territorial government for New Mexico and Deseret or Utah ; for a law which would compel the return, to their masters, of all fugitive slaves ; for the suppression of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and for a settlement of the boundary of Texas. This bill, containing such a variety of important propositions, was called the "Omnibus Bill," but as a whole it was known as the Compromise Act. It was not satisfactory to the slaveholders, notwithstanding its large concessions to their interests ; and in June they held a convention at Nashville, in Tennessee, and by resolutions presented to the country alternatives for the settlement of the controversy, namely, the security, by an enactment of Congress, of protection to their property in slaves, for those who should choose to emigrate into any of the Territories, or a partition of the Territories between the free and slave labor sections of the Union, on the basis of the Missouri Compromise.

For four months a discussion and a controversy, which shook the republic to its very foundations, was carried on in Congress and among the people—a controversy on the slavery question more violent than any which had yet occurred. The Compromise Act was violently opposed in both sections of the Union, but, of course, on opposite grounds. The extreme pro-slavery men regarded it as a surrender of their most vital claims, to the political sentimentality of the North ; and they resolved not to submit to it. Threats

of disunion were loud, violent, and numerous; and opposition to the Compromise took the shape of a political party first in Mississippi, with Jefferson Davis as leader. It spread into other slave-holding States, and appeared formidable. The opposition to the measure in the Northern States was comparatively feeble; but there was a powerful minority in these free-labor States who were strenuously opposed to the Fugitive-Slave law, which formed a part of the Compromise, as unworthy of the sanction of a civilized nation. Yet the majority of the northern people acquiesced in the measure because it promised peace and the maintenance of the commercial prosperity which then prevailed.

In the midst of the excitement occasioned by this controversy, the country was startled by the death of the President, caused by bilious fever, which occurred on the 9th of July, 1850, when he was in the sixty-fifth year of his age. There was much real mourning on account of his death, for the reflecting men of all parties relied upon his justice, integrity and firmness in the right, in that hour of apparent peril to the republic. Millard Fillmore, the Vice-President, became the constitutional successor of President Taylor, and on the day after the death of the latter, Mr. Fillmore took the prescribed oath of office as President of the United States. On the following day, William R. King, of Alabama, was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and became acting Vice-President.

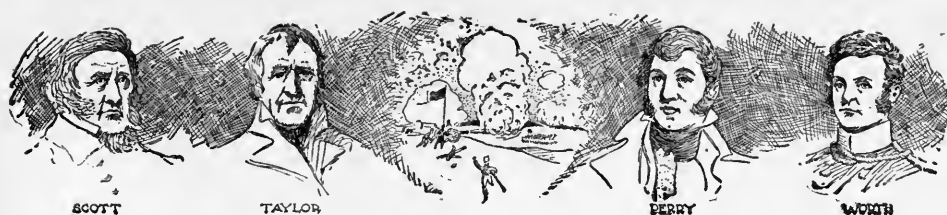
The several members of the cabinet of President Taylor tendered their resignations to Mr. Fillmore, who accepted them, and immediately nominated others for his constitutional advisers. These were Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury; Charles M. Conrad, Secretary of War; William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy; Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior; Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. These names impressed the people with confidence in the administration of Mr. Fillmore.

The most important measures of the government that were pending at the death of President Taylor, and which claimed the early attention of President Fillmore, were the several bills included in the Compromise Act. These were all adopted, with slight modifications, and became laws in the month of September, by receiving the signature of the President. Mr. Seward offered an amendment to the act for the suppression of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, which provided "That slavery in the District be entirely abrogated; that its abolition depend on the vote of the inhabitants; and that in case, on such vote being taken, it should be in favor of emancipation, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars be appropriated to pay the owners of the slaves for whatever loss they may suffer."

This amendment, after a brief discussion, was rejected by five yeas to forty-five nays.

During Taylor's administration, some unpleasant feeling had been engendered between the governments of the United States and Spain, by an invasion of Cuba by a military force organized in this country. It will be observed hereafter, that the men and measures connected with these movements, were intimately associated with the actors in, and the preliminary events of the late Civil War. General Lopez, a native of Cuba, who led an expedition to that island from the United States, was backed by many men who were conspicuous in the secession movements ten years later. The avowed object of the invasion was to stir up the Creoles, or native Cubans, to a revolt for the purpose of overthrowing the local government, casting off the Spanish yoke, and forming an independent State. No doubt this was the principal and perhaps the only design of Lopez, but not of the politicians at his back. *Their* chief object undoubtedly was to seize Cuba, and make it a part of a great slave empire of the South—a proposition shamelessly set forth in the discreditable "Ostend Manifesto" of a later day. Lopez and his followers landed at Cardenas, in Cuba, at the middle of April, 1850, where he expected to be joined by some of the Spanish troops and a host of native Cubans, and with them to overthrow the government of the island. He was disappointed. The troops and people did not appear, to co-operate with him, and he returned to the United States to prepare for a more formidable invasion.

The introduction of the Compromise Act, the invasion of Cuba and the admission of one State and three Territories into the Union, were the most prominent features of President Taylor's administration. That State was California; the Territories were New Mexico, Utah, and Minnesota. The name of the latter is the Indian title of the River St. Peter, a large tributary of the Upper Mississippi, and means sky-colored water.



CHAPTER CVII.

The Mormons: Their Origin and Progress—The Fugitive-Slave Law—Invasion of Cuba—Territory Bought of the Indians—Enlargement of the Capitol—Kossuth and His Cause—Disputes about Fisheries—Relations with Japan—Tripartite Treaty—The Ostend Conference—President Pierce and His Cabinet—Exploring Expeditions—Union Pacific Railroad—The Sandwich Islands—Our Foreign Relations—Kansas and Nebraska Territories—Controversy about Slavery—Difficulties with Spain—Raids in Central America—War with Indians—Violation of Neutrality Laws—Conflict between Freedom and Slavery—Political Struggles in Kansas—A State Constitution Adopted—Violence in Kansas—Political Parties.

ALLUSION has been made to the Mormons in Utah. Their history is a most remarkable one. About fifty years ago, a young man named Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, pretended to have revelations from heaven. In one of these he was directed to go to a hill near Palmyra, New York, where he would find a record of the ancient inhabitants of America and a new gospel for mankind, written centuries before on plates of gold, in unknown characters and languages. From these plates (it was alleged) Smith, sitting behind a blanket to prevent their being seen by profane eyes, read the inscriptions, which were written down by a scribe who was not permitted to see the "leaves of gold." This copy was published under the name of "The Book of Mormon." The true story, as ascertained by investigation, appears to be, that the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, many years before, wrote a work of fiction, founded upon the theory that our continent was peopled by the "lost tribes of Israel;" that the manuscript came, by accident, into the hands of Smith, and that he read to his scribe from the manuscript, and not from any plates containing mysterious characters.

Smith found dupes and followers, and in 1830 he established a "church" with thirty members. He was assisted in his work by Sidney Rigdon, who, it was said, had become possessed of Spaulding's manuscript, and placed it in the hands of Smith. The latter pretended to be governed by continual revelations from heaven; and in accordance with one of them, he led his deluded followers to Kirtland, Ohio, where they built a temple and remained several years, until the conduct of the leaders became so obnoxious that

they were compelled to leave. They established themselves in Hancock county, Illinois, where they founded the city of Nauvoo, and built a temple. Meanwhile they had attempted to plant themselves in Missouri, but they were expelled by the exasperated people, who were assisted by the civil and military powers. At Kirtland, they were joined by a shrewd young man named Brigham Young, a native of Vermont, who was active president of the Mormon church more than thirty years. It was at Nauvoo that the

system of polygamy was first practised among them, and Young had ever been foremost among its defenders. That system was established in consequence of the jealousy of Smith's wife because of his intimacies with other women. In justification of his immoral conduct, Smith had a special revelation from heaven, authorizing polygamy, and declaring that the greater number of wives a man possessed, the greater would be his future rewards; also that the women who consented to share the honors of wifehood with others, would thereby be assured of eternal happiness.

This "revelation" led to events which resulted in the imprisonment of Smith and some of his most intimate associates.

The "prophet" and his brother

were shot dead by a mob at the prison; and their followers, in 1845, prepared for an exodus, led by Brigham Young, who had succeeded to the presidency of the Mormon church, on the death of Smith. They finally crossed the Mississippi and penetrated to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, where, in 1848, they seated themselves in a most picturesque region, founded a city, and built a temple. Their numbers have long entitled their domain (which was organized into a Territory with the name of Utah) to admission into the Union as a State. In 1849, President Fillmore appointed Young governor of that Territory; but because of the practice of polygamy by the Mormons, that Territory has never been permitted to enter the Union as a



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

State. The Mormons now number, in our own and other countries, probably, more than two hundred thousand souls. They have, from time to time, given our government considerable trouble, by their defiance of its laws. The speedy extinguishment of their system is probable.

It was believed by superficial thinkers and observers that the Compromise Act of 1850 had quieted, forever, all controversy on the subject of slavery; and during his entire administration, President Fillmore gave his support to all the measures embraced in that act. When his

administration closed in the spring of 1853, there seemed to be very little uneasiness in the public mind on the subject of slavery. But it was only the ominous calm that precedes the bursting of a tempest. The moral sense of the people in the free-labor States (and of thousands in the slave-labor States) had been shocked by the passage of the Fugitive-Slave Law, which compelled every person to become a slave-catcher, under certain circumstances, willing or not willing. That law was so much at variance with Christian ethics and the civilization of the age, that a multitude of persons in all parts of the Union yearned to see it wiped from our national statute-books

as an ugly blot; and, pondering upon it, many persons who had been indifferent, felt a desire to have a check put upon the further expansion of the system of slavery in our republic. This feeling, and the avowed intention of the supporters of that system to make it a national and not a mere sectional institution, produced violent collisions in speech, and, finally, a most sanguinary civil war. The Fugitive-Slave Law, framed by James M. Mason of Virginia, had much to do with bringing on that terrible crisis in our history.

In 1851, General Lopez renewed his attempt to cause an insurrectionary movement in Cuba, by landing a strong military force, organized in this



MILLARD FILLMORE.

country, upon its shores. Our government watched these movements and the violation of neutrality laws with great vigilance, detaining vessels and dispersing illegal associations; but in August, Lopez managed to sail from New York, with almost five hundred followers, whom he landed on the northern coast of Cuba. There he left Colonel W. L. Crittenden (son of the Attorney-General of the United States) in command of one hundred soldiers, and with the remainder he pushed into the interior. At that time forty thousand Spanish troops were concentrated in Cuba. Crittenden and his party were soon captured and shot. Again Lopez found the Cubans unwilling to revolt. He became a fugitive, and at near the close of August, he and six of his followers were arrested, taken to Havana, and executed.

At the same time our government was making peaceful acquisitions of territory in the northwest by the purchase from the Sioux Indians of millions of acres of fertile lands beyond the Mississippi, in the newly organized Territory of Minnesota. This had become a necessity, for a stream of population was pouring into that Territory and threatening to overflow the Indian reservation there. At the same time emigration from Europe was flowing in an immense tide over portions of our domain. Territories and States were increasing in number, and swelling the volume of representatives in the national legislature. To accommodate these, the halls of legislation had to be enlarged, and in the summer of 1851, the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol was laid by President Fillmore, with appropriate Masonic ceremonies. On that occasion Daniel Webster delivered an oration in the presence of a vast multitude of people.

Toward the close of the same year, our government reaffirmed its policy of non-interference with the domestic affairs of European nations, under peculiar circumstances. In December, Louis Kossuth, the exiled governor of Hungary, arrived in the United States to plead the cause of his countrymen, who were struggling for their independence of the rule of Austria, and to ask for material aid from our government. The touching story of his career had preceded and had created here almost universal sympathy for him and his cause. He was received with great enthusiasm, and his mission was the theme of many debates on the floors of Congress. On his arrival at New York he became the guest of the city, and was welcomed by cheers from an immense multitude of citizens, who fringed the streets through which he passed in procession. At Washington he was welcomed by the President, the heads of departments, and the National Congress. The latter gave him a banquet, at which the Acting Vice-President presided. So demonstrative was the welcome, that the Austrian minister formally protested against it, and because his protest was unheeded, he left his post.

The President, however, at his first interview with Kossuth, told him frankly that our policy of non-interference would not allow our government to give him any material aid. This was afforded, to a considerable extent, by private subscriptions.

There was a little ruffling of the good feeling between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, in 1852, in consequence of the alleged violation by American fishers off the coast of British America, of treaty stipulations, which provided that they should not cast their nets nearer such coast than three miles. A new interpretation of that agreement had recently been made by the British government, which claimed that the American fishers had no rights in bays within a line drawn from headland to headland; and that government sent a naval force to support these pretensions. The President sent a naval force to protect our fishermen, and a spark of war seemed inevitable, when the dispute was amicably settled by mutual concessions.

Owing to our increasing intercourse with Asia across the Pacific Ocean, friendly relations with the Japanese was desirable. To establish such amity, our government sent a squadron of seven vessels, commanded by Commodore M. C. Perry, in the summer of 1853, to convey a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan, asking him to consent to the negotiation of a treaty of friendship and commerce between the two governments. The mission was successful, and friendly relations were then established between the two countries which have continually increased in strength and importance. In 1860, a large and imposing embassy from the Empire of Japan, visited the United States, and were welcomed by President Buchanan at a personal interview in the reception-room of the executive mansion. Intercourse between the two nations is now free and cordial.

The sympathy manifested by a large portion of the people of the United States in the efforts of Lopez in Cuba, gave rise to suspicions in Europe that it was the policy of our government to ultimately possess that island and assume control over the Gulf of Mexico (the open door to California) and the West India Islands, which were owned chiefly by France and England. To prevent such a result, the governments of these two countries asked that of the United States to enter into a treaty with them, which should secure Cuba to Spain, by agreeing to disclaim "now and forever hereafter, all intention to obtain possession of the Island of Cuba," and "to discountenance all such attempts, to that effect, on the part of any individual or power whatever." To this invitation our Secretary of State (Edward Everett) replied, in the spirit of the "Monroe Doctrine," that the

question was an American and not an European one, and not properly within the scope of the interference of European cabinets; that the United States did not intend to violate any existing neutrality laws; that the government claimed the right to act in relation to Cuba independent of any other power, and that it could not see with indifference "the island of Cuba fall into the hands of any other power than Spain." France made no rejoinder; Great Britain did; and so ended the diplomatic correspondence on the proposed "Tripartite Treaty," in February, 1853. In the letter of Lord John Russell, the English prime-minister, there was an intimation that England and France would not see with indifference the possession of Cuba by the United States. The suspicion that our government intended to gain possession of that island was confirmed by the act of its agents abroad, the following year. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Soulé then represented our country, respectively, at the courts of Great Britain, France, and Spain. They met at Ostend, in Belgium, in October, 1854, by direction of President Pierce, to confer upon the best method for settling all difficulties about Cuba and gaining possession of that island. They embodied their views in a letter to our government, in which they recommended the *purchase* of Cuba, if possible; if not, to obtain it by *force*. "If Spain," they said, "actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States," then "by every law human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power." Honest Americans would gladly blot this letter from our national records, for it is justly regarded as one of the most disgraceful passages in the history of American diplomacy.

When Mr. Fillmore's administration was drawing to a close, nominations for his successor were made. A Democratic national convention assembled at Baltimore, in June, 1852, nominated General Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, and William R. King of Alabama, for Vice-President. A Whig national convention assembled at the same place in the same month, and nominated General Winfield Scott for President, and William A. Graham of North Carolina for Vice-President. The Democratic nominees were elected, and on the 4th of March, 1853, President Fillmore retired to private life. One of the most important of the closing events of his administration was the creation, by act of Congress, of a new Territory called Washington, which was carved out of the northern part of Oregon. The bill for this purpose became a law on the 2d of March, 1853.

General Pierce took the oath of office as President of the United States, upon a platform of New Hampshire pine, which had been erected at the eastern portico of the Capitol. It was administered in the presence of thousands

of people, who stood in a storm of driving sleet as witnesses of the august ceremony. President Pierce chose for his cabinet William L. Marcy, Secretary of State; James Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury; Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War; James C. Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy; Robert McClelland, Secretary of the Interior; James Campbell, Postmaster-General, and Caleb Cushing, Attorney-General.

Important American explorations by sea and land, in the interests of commerce, marked the earlier portion of Pierce's administration. The acquisition of California opened the way for an immense commercial interest on our Pacific coast; and in the spring of 1853, Congress sent four armed vessels to the eastern shores of Asia, by way of Cape Horn, to explore the region of the Pacific Ocean, which, it was evident, would soon be traversed by American steamships plying between the ports of our western frontier and Japan and China. At the same time plans were maturing for the construction of a railway across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Congress, in the summer of 1853, sent out four surveying expeditions to explore as many routes

along the general course of four degrees of latitude. One of these lines of railway, known as the Union Pacific, was completed in the spring of 1869. On a beautiful day in May, in a grassy valley in mid-continent, and in the presence of a great concourse of spectators, the last spike was driven and the great work was completed. Over that railway passengers may now be carried from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the course of four or five days.

At that time the government of the Sandwich Islands was making overtures for the annexation of that ocean-empire to our republic. This aroused the jealousy of France and England, who felt disposed to interfere in the matter. A change of rulers in the islands, put an end to the matter.



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

A dispute in relation to the boundary line between New Mexico and the Province of Chihuahua in old Mexico threatened to produce war, but it was happily diverted by diplomacy. With the government of Austria there were some unpleasant relations about that time, growing out of the protecting power of our government in the case of a naturalized citizen. A Hungarian exile, named Kozta, had become naturalized here. While engaged in business in Smyrna, he was seized by order of the Austrian consul-general and placed on board a brig to be sent to Trieste as a refugee. The *St. Louis*, one of our naval vessels, was then in the harbor of Smyrna, and her commander (Captain Ingraham) claimed Kozta as a citizen of the United States and demanded his release. It was refused, and Ingraham cleared his ship for action. This argument was effectual, and Kozta was delivered up on board the *St. Louis*. Congress showed their approval of the conduct of their servant by voting Ingraham a sword. Austria was offended, but no serious difficulty ensued. This protection of an humble citizen of the United States, in a foreign land, increased the respect for our government and flag abroad.

An unexpected movement now aroused a vehement discussion of the slavery question. In January, 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas presented a bill in the Senate for the erection of two vast Territories in mid-continent, to be called, respectively, Kansas and Nebraska. The bill provided for giving permission to the inhabitants of those Territories to decide for themselves whether slavery should or should not exist within their domain. This proposed nullification of the Missouri Compromise produced rancorous controversies in and out of Congress, and the people of the free-labor States became violently excited. After long and bitter discussions in both Houses of Congress, the bill became a law in May following. The people of the North thought they perceived in this measure a determination to make slavery national; and the boast of Robert Toombs, of Georgia, that he would yet "call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill," seemed likely not to be an idle one. While this irritating subject was under discussion, fresh difficulties with Spain appeared. The Spanish authorities in Cuba seized the American steamship *Black Warrior* and confiscated her cargo, under some pretence of her violating the neutrality laws. Our government, satisfied of the flagrancy of the act, was disposed to suspend those laws. A special messenger was sent to the Spanish government at Madrid to lay the case before the imperial authorities. The Cuban officials, becoming alarmed, proposed to deliver up the vessel and cargo on the payment of a fine, by her owners, of six thousand dollars. It was paid under protest, and the affair was amicably settled by the governments. These occurrences were made

the excuse for the meeting of the American ministers at Ostend, and their disreputable action there.

In the light of historic events, it is clear to-day, that men who afterward appeared as leaders in the war against our government, were then concocting and executing schemes for the extension of the domains of the slave system. It must expand or suffocate. They contrived and put in motion expeditions for conquering neighboring provinces, in the southwest, under various pretexts, and their acts were unrebuked by our government. They formed a design to conquer parts of Mexico, and also Central America; and the theatre of their first practically successful endeavors was on the northern portion of the great isthmus between North and South America. The first movement was an armed "emigration" into Nicaragua, with peaceful professions, led by Colonel H. L. Kinney. This was followed by an armed invasion by Californians led by William Walker, first, of provinces in Mexico, and then of the state of Nicaragua. Walker also made peaceful professions on landing, but the next day he cast off the mask and attempted to capture a town. He was soon driven out by Nicaraguan troops, and escaped in a schooner. He soon reappeared with a stronger force (September, 1855) when the country was in a state of revolution, and pushed his scheme of conquest so vigorously that he seized the capital of the state (Grenada), in October, and placed one of his followers (a Nicaraguan) in the presidential chair. He also strengthened his power by armed "emigrants" who came from the slave-labor States. The other governments on the isthmus were alarmed for their own safety, and in the winter of 1856 they formed an alliance for expelling the invaders. Troops from Costa Rica marched into Nicaragua, but were soon driven out by Walker's forces. So firm was his grasp that he caused himself to be elected President of Nicaragua; and the government at Washington hastened to acknowledge the new "nation," by cordially receiving Walker's ambassador in the person of a Roman Catholic priest named Vigil. For two years this usurper ruled that state with a high hand, and offended commercial nations by his interference with trade. At length the combined powers on the isthmus crushed him. In May, 1857, he was compelled to surrender the remnant of his army, but escaped himself through the interposition of Commodore Davis of our navy. Late in the same year he reappeared in Central America, when he was seized, with his followers, by Commodore Paulding, and sent to New York as an offender against neutrality laws. The President (Buchanan) *privately* commended Paulding for his action, but for "prudential reasons," as he said, he publicly condemned the commander in a message to Congress, for "thus violating the sovereignty of a foreign country." Walker was

allowed to go free, when he fitted out another expedition and sailed from Mobile. He was arrested only for leaving port without a clearance, and was tried and acquitted by the supreme court at New Orleans. Then he went again to Nicaragua, where he made much mischief, and was finally captured and shot at Truxillo.

Settlers in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, on the Pacific coast, had trouble with the Indians there in 1855, who went out in parties to plunder and murder. General Wool, then stationed at San Francisco, went up to Portland, in Oregon, to arrange a campaign against them. The savages were so well organized in both Territories that, at one time, it appeared as if the white settlers would be compelled to abandon the country. The Indians were subdued in 1856, but for a long time restlessness appeared among the tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. It was generally believed that they were incited to hostilities by the employés of the Hudson's Bay Company, in British Columbia. At the same time the friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States were somewhat disturbed by the enlistment, in our country, of recruits for the British army, then operating against Russia in the Crimean Peninsula. This violation of neutrality laws had been done with the sanction of British officials here, among whom was the British minister at Washington. The minister and the British consuls at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, were dismissed by our government. There was much irritation felt by the British cabinet for some time; but as our government was clearly in the right, a new minister and new consuls were soon sent hither.

Our country, at this juncture, was approaching that great crisis which appeared in the dreadful aspect of civil war—a tremendous conflict between Freedom and Slavery for supremacy in the republic. With the enactment and enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Law and the virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act, in the case of Kansas and Nebraska, the important question was forced upon the attention of the whole people of the land, "Shall the domain of our republic be the theatre of all free or all slave labor, with the corresponding civilization of each as a consequence?" The time had come when one or the other of these social systems must prevail in all parts of the land. Part free and part slave was a condition no longer to be tolerated, for it meant perpetual war. The supporters of the slave-system, encouraged by their recent triumphs, had full faith in their ability to win other and more decisive victories, and did not permit themselves to doubt their ultimate possession of the field, so they sounded the trumpet for their hosts to rally and prepare for the struggle. Kansas was the chosen field for the preliminary skirmishing. It lay nearest to the settled States;

it was bordered on the east by a slave-labor State, and it was easy of access from the South. On the surface of society they saw only insignificant ripples of opposition. They began to colonize the Territory; and, flushed with what seemed to be well-assured success, they cast down the gauntlet of defiance at the feet of the friends of free-labor in the nation.

That gauntlet was quickly taken up by their opponents, and champions of freedom seemed to spring from the ground like the harvest from the seed-sowing of dragons' teeth. Enterprising men and women swarmed out of New England to people the virgin soil of Kansas with the hardy children of toil. They were joined by those of other free-labor States in the North and West. The then dominant party in the Union were astonished at the sudden uprising, and clearly perceived that the opponents of slavery would speedily outvote its supporters. Combinations were formed under various names, such as "Blue Lodges," "Friends' Society," "Social Band," "Sons of the South," etc., to counteract the efforts of the "Emigrant Aid Society" of Massachusetts, to gain numerical supremacy in Kansas—a society which had been organized immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The supporters of slavery, conscious that their votes could not secure supremacy in Kansas, where the question of slavery or no slavery was to be decided at the ballot-box, organized physical force in Missouri to oppose this moral force. Associations were formed in Missouri, whose members were pledged to be ready, at all times, to assist, when called upon by the friends of slavery in Kansas, in removing from that Territory by force every person who should attempt to settle there "under the auspices of the Northern Emigrant Aid Society."

In the autumn of 1854, A. H. Reeder was sent to govern the Territory of Kansas. He immediately ordered an election of a Territorial legislature, and with that election the struggle for supremacy there was finally begun. Missourians went into Kansas to assist the supporters of slavery there in carrying the election. They went with tents, artillery and other weapons. There were then eight hundred and thirty-one legal voters in the Territory, but there were more than six thousand votes polled. The members of the Legislature were all supporters of slavery; and when they met at Shawnee, on the borders of Missouri, they proceeded to enact laws for upholding slavery in Kansas. These laws were regularly vetoed by Governor Reeder, who became so obnoxious that President Pierce was asked to recall him. The President did so, and sent Wilson Shannon of Ohio, who was an avowed supporter of slavery, to fill Reeder's place.

The actual settlers in Kansas, who were chiefly from the free-labor States, met in mass convention in September, 1855, and resolved not to recognize

the laws passed by the illegally elected legislature, as binding upon them. They called a delegate convention to assemble at Topeka on the 19th of October, at which time and place the convention framed a State constitution which was approved by the legal voters of the Territory, and which contained an article making provision for constituting Kansas a free-labor State. Under this constitution they asked Congress to admit that Territory into the Union as a State. By this action the contest between Freedom and Slavery was transferred from Kansas to Washington, for awhile. The prospect of success for the opponents of slavery, in Kansas, was beginning to appear bright, when President Pierce gave the supporters of the institution much comfort by a message to Congress in January, 1856, in which he declared the action of the legal voters, in adopting a State constitution, to be open rebellion.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1856, armed men from other States roamed over Kansas, committing many excesses under pretext of compelling obedience to the laws of the illegal legislature. There was much violence and bloodshed; but during the autumn, the Presidential election absorbed so much of the public attention, that Kansas was allowed a season of rest. At that election there were three parties in the field, each of which had a candidate for the Presidency. One was a party composed of men of all political creeds, who were opposed to slavery. It was called the Republican party, and it assumed powerful proportions at the outset. Another powerful political organization was known as the American or Know-Nothing party, whose chief bond of union was opposition to foreign influence and Roman Catholicism. The Democratic party, dating its organization at the period of the election of President Jackson in 1828, was then the dominant party in the Union. The Democratic candidate for the Presidency was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania; of the Republican party, John C. Fremont of California, and of the American party, Ex-President Fillmore. After an exciting canvass, James Buchanan was elected President, with John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, as Vice-President.





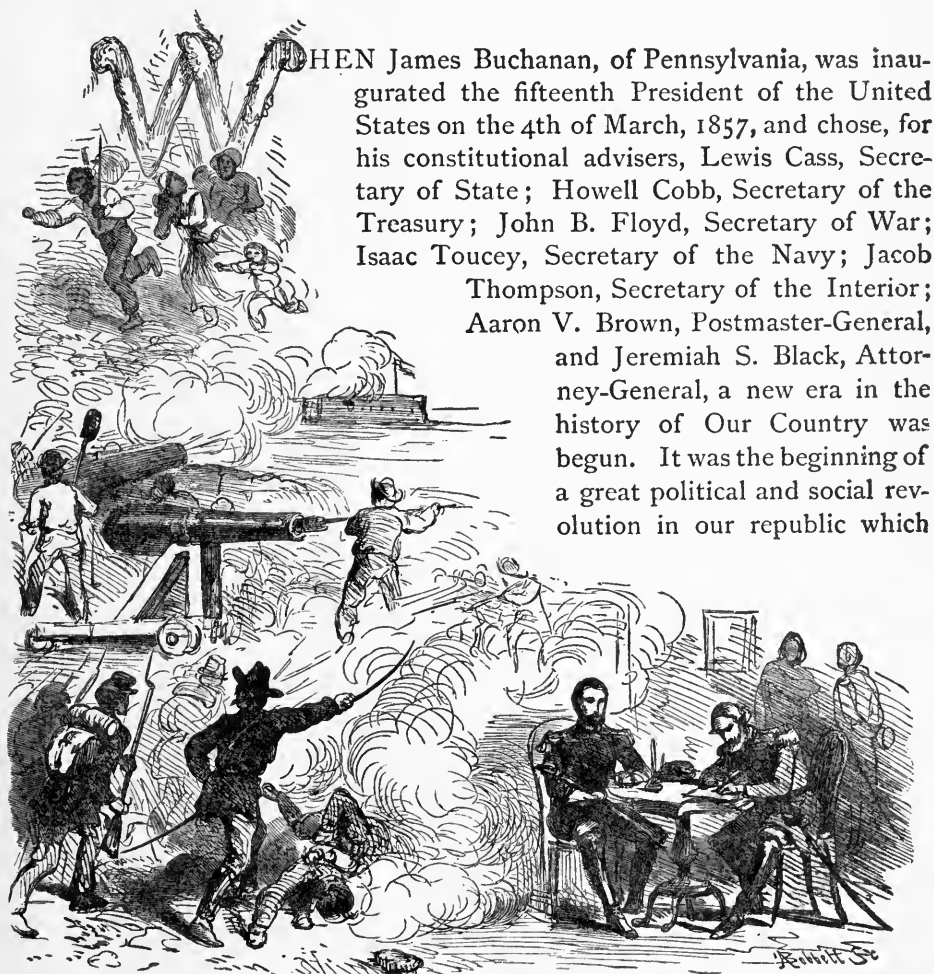
From the original painting by Chappell

SIEGE OF VICKSBURG



CHAPTER CVIII.

A New Era—Skirmishes before the Civil War—The Democratic Party—The Dred Scott Decision—Action of the Supreme Court of the United States—Early Efforts to Restrict Slavery—Slaves in England—The Status of Slavery Here—President Buchanan's Course Foreshadowed—Civil War in Kansas and Civil Government There—Lecompton Constitution Adopted and Rejected—Admission of Kansas as a State—A Judicial Decision Practically Reversed—Reopening of the African Slave-Trade and Action Concerning It—Working of the Fugitive-Slave Law—Action of State Legislatures—Troubles with the Mormons.



WHEN James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was inaugurated the fifteenth President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1857, and chose, for his constitutional advisers, Lewis Cass, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior; Aaron V. Brown, Postmaster-General, and Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney-General, a new era in the history of Our Country was begun. It was the beginning of a great political and social revolution in our republic which

entirely and permanently changed the industrial aspects in many of the States of the Union.

It was during the administration of Mr. Buchanan that the preliminary skirmishes, moral and physical, which immediately preceded the great Civil War, occurred. Both parties were then putting on their armor and preparing their weapons for the mighty struggle. The political organization by which the new President had been elected had, for some time, coalesced with the friends and supporters of the slave-labor system in their



JAMES BUCHANAN.

efforts not only to extend the public domain so as to allow the almost indefinite expansion of their cherished institution, but to make it national. That coalition and sympathy were manifested in various ways. The two wings of the Democratic party (one of them leaning toward an anti-slavery policy and called the "Free-Soil Democracy") had been reconciled, and worked together in the national convention at Cincinnati in June, 1856, which nominated Mr. Buchanan for the Presidency. In their resolutions, put forth as a platform of principles, they approved the invasion and usurpation of Walker, in Nicaragua, as efforts of the people of Central America "to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-oceanic isthmus." They approved

the doctrine of the "Ostend Manifesto," by resolving that "the Democratic party were in favor of the acquisition of Cuba," and Mr. Buchanan was chosen to be their standard-bearer because of his known sympathy with these movements for the extension of the area and perpetuation of the slave system. Senator A. G. Brown, of Mississippi, one of the committee appointed to call upon Mr. Buchanan and officially inform him of his nomination, wrote to a friend, saying: "In my judgment, Mr. Buchanan is as worthy of Southern confidence and Southern votes as ever Mr. Calhoun was."

One of the most vitally important skirmishes before the Civil War

actually began occurred at about the time of Mr. Buchanan's accession to the Presidency of the Republic. It was of a moral and not of a physical nature, and is known in our judicial history as "the Dred Scott case."

Dred Scott was a young negro slave of Dr. Emerson, a surgeon in the United States Army, living in Missouri. When the latter was ordered to Rock Island, in Illinois, in 1834, he took Scott with him. There Major Taliaferro, of the army, had a feminine slave, and when the two masters were transferred to Fort Snelling (now in Minnesota) next year, the two slaves were married with the consent of the masters. They had two children born in the free-labor Territory; and the mother had been bought by Dr. Emerson, who finally took parents and children back to Missouri, and there sold them to a New Yorker. Dred sued for his freedom, on the plea of his involuntary residence in a free-labor State and Territory for several years, and the Circuit Court of St. Louis decided in his favor. The Supreme Court of Missouri reversed the decision of the inferior court, and it was carried, by an appeal, to the Supreme Court of the United States, then presided over by Roger B. Taney, a Maryland slaveholder. A majority of that court were in sympathy with the friends of the slave-labor system, and their decision, about to be given in 1856, was, for prudential reasons, withheld until after the Presidential election that year. When it was known that Buchanan was elected, the decision was made against Scott, but it was not promulgated until after the inauguration of the new President of the Republic. The decision, through the Chief Justice, declared that any person "whose ancestors were imported into this country and held as slaves" had no right to sue in any court of the United States; in other words, denying any right of citizenship to a person who had been a slave or was the descendant of a slave.

The only legitimate business of the court was to decide the question of jurisdiction in the case; but the Chief Justice, with the sanction of a majority of the court, further declared that the framers and supporters of the Declaration of Independence did not include the negro race in our country in the great proclamation that "*all* men are created equal;" that the patriots of the Revolution, and their progenitors "for more than a century before," regarded the negroes as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that *they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect*, and that the negro might lawfully be reduced to slavery for his (the white man's) benefit. The Chief Justice further declared that they were never spoken of except as property; and that in the days of our fathers, even emancipated blacks "were identified in the public mind with the race

to which they belonged, and *regarded as a part of the slave population rather than the free.*"

How much at variance with the plain teachings of history were these statements, let our public records testify. In the English-American colonies, the most enlightened men looked on slavery with great disfavor, as a moral wrong, and they made attempts, from time to time, to limit or eradicate it. The utterances and writings of men like General Washington, Henry Laurens, Thomas Jefferson, and other slaveholders, and of Dr. Franklin, John Jay, and many leading patriots of the Revolution, directly refute the assertion of Judge Taney, that in their time Africans by descent were "never thought or spoken of except as property." The Declaration of Independence, framed by a slaveholder, was a solemn protest against human bondage in *every* form; and in his original draft of that document, Mr. Jefferson made the protest stronger than the Congress finally approved.

Among the public acts of the fathers of the Republic in favor of human freedom and restriction of the slave-system, was the famous Ordinance of 1787 (see page 1114), adopted before the National Constitution was framed, which was the final result of an effort commenced in the Continental Congress in 1784 to restrict slavery. That effort was made in proposing a plan for the government of a Territory including the whole region west of the old thirteen States, as far south as the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and embracing several of the late slave-labor States. The plan was submitted by a committee, of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman. It contemplated the ultimate division of that Territory into seventeen States, eight of them below the latitude of the present city of Louisville, in Kentucky. Among the rules for the government of that region, reported by Mr. Jefferson, was the following: "That after the year 1800 of the Christian Era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been convicted to be personally guilty." On motion of Carolinians, this clause was stricken out. A majority of the States were in favor of it, but as it required the votes of nine States to carry a proposition, it was not adopted. This rule, omitting the words "after the year 1800 of the Christian Era," was incorporated in the Ordinance of 1787, above alluded to, and so secured freedom to the territory northward of the Ohio River.

The mother-country, from which a larger portion of the patriots of our Revolution had sprung, had just swept slavery from the dominions of Great Britain when the old war for independence was a-kindling. It was done by a decision of Chief Justice Mansfield in the case of James Somerset, a native of Africa, who was first carried to Virginia and sold as a slave, then

taken to England by his master, and there induced, by philanthropic men, to assert his freedom. Chief Justice Mansfield decided that he was a free man.

So early as 1597, it was held by the lawyers in England, that "negroes being usually bought and sold among merchants as merchandise, and also being infidels, there might be a property in them sufficient to maintain trover," or the gaining possession of any goods by whatever means. This position was overruled by Chief Justice Holt, who decided that "so soon as a negro lands in England, he is free." It was to this decision that Cowper alluded in his lines:

"Slaves cannot breathe in England ;
That moment they are free they touch our country,
And their shackles fall."

In 1702, Justice Holt also decided that "there is no such thing as a slave by the laws of England ;" but in 1729, an opinion was obtained from the crown-lawyer, that negroes legally enslaved elsewhere might be held as slaves in England, and that baptism was no bar to the master's claim. This was a sort of fugitive slave-law for the benefit of the English-American colonists, that was obeyed until the sweeping decision of Chief Justice Mansfield, which would have abolished slavery here had not the Revolution broken out soon afterward.

After Chief Justice Taney had made his declaration about the feelings of our forefathers concerning the negro as a man, he declared that the Missouri Compromise Act and all other acts for the restriction of slavery were unconstitutional; and that neither Congress nor local legislatures had any authority for restricting the spread of the institution all over the Union. The majority of the Supreme Court sustained not only the legitimate decision, but the extra-judicial opinion of the Chief Justice; and the dominant party who had elected Mr. Buchanan assumed that the decision was final—that slavery was a national institution having the right to exist anywhere in the Union, and that Mr. Toombs might legally "call the roll of his slaves on Bunker's Hill." It was assumed by the leaders of that party that, in consequence of the promulgated opinion of five or six fallible men, evidently based upon a perversion of historical facts, the nation was bound to consent to the turning back of the bright tide of Christian civilization into the darker channels of a barbarous age from which it had escaped. To this proposition the conscience of the nation refused acquiescence. Large numbers of the dominant party deserted their leaders, and every lover of freedom was impelled to prepare for the inevitable conflict which this extra-judicial opinion of the

highest court in the land would certainly arouse. It being extra-judicial, it was no more binding, in law, upon the people, than was the opinion of any citizen of the Republic.

The new President had been informed of this decision before it was promulgated, and in his inaugural address he foreshadowed his own course in the treatment of the subject. Indeed, that decision was a chief topic of the discourse. He spoke of the measure as one that would "speedily and finally" settle the slavery question, and he announced his intention to cheerfully submit to it, declaring that the question was wholly a judicial one, which only the Supreme Court of the Republic could settle, and that by its decision the admission or rejection of slavery in any Territory was to be determined by the legal votes of the people thereof. "The whole territorial question," he said, "was thus settled upon the principle of popular sovereignty—a principle as ancient as free government itself." He averred that "everything of a practical nature" had been settled, and he expressed a sincere hope that the long agitation of the subject of slavery was "approaching its end."

Alas! it was only the beginning of the dreadful scenes that marked its end. That decision and opinion of the Chief Justice rekindled the fire spoken of by the Georgian in debate in Congress on the admission of Missouri (see page 1324), which, he said, "all the waters of the ocean would not put out, and which only seas of blood could extinguish."

As we have observed, there was actual civil war in Kansas in the earlier portions of 1856. It assumed alarming aspects during the spring and summer of that year, as we have noticed. The actual settlers from free-labor States outnumbered emigrants from elsewhere; and a regiment of young men from Georgia and South Carolina, under Colonel Buford, fully armed, went into the Territory for the avowed purpose of making it a slave-labor State "at all hazards." They were joined by armed Missourians, and for several months they spread terror over the land. They sacked the town of Lawrence, and murdered and plundered individuals in various places. Steamboats ascending the Missouri River with emigrants from free-labor States were stopped, and the passengers were frequently robbed of their money; and persons of the same class, crossing the State of Missouri, were arrested and turned back. Lawlessness reigned supreme in all that region. Justice was bound, and there was general defiance of all mandates of right.

The civil war in Kansas, so begun, was more wasteful than bloody, and there was only one battle with any semblance of regularity fought there. That conflict took place on an open prairie. It was waged between twenty-eight emigrants, led by John Brown, of Ossawattamie, and fifty-six armed

men under H. Clay Pate, of Virginia. Brown was the victor. Finally, John W. Geary, afterward a major-general, and Governor of Pennsylvania, who succeeded Shannon as chief magistrate of Kansas, by judicious administration of affairs there, smothered the flames of civil war, and both parties worked vigorously with moral forces for the admission of Kansas as a State of the Union, but with ends in view diametrically opposed.

In September, 1857, the friends of the slave-system met in convention at Lecompton, on the Kansas River, and then the Territorial capital, and adopted a State Constitution, in which it was declared that "the rights of property in slaves now in the Territory shall in no manner be interfered with," and it forbade any amendment of the instrument until 1864. It was submitted to the votes of the people in December following, but by the terms of the election law then in force, no person could vote *against* the Constitution. The ballots were endorsed: "For the Constitution *with* slavery" and "For the Constitution *without* slavery." In either case, a constitution that would foster and protect slavery would be voted for. The consequence was that a large portion of the friends of the free-labor system refused to vote, and the Lecompton Constitution was adopted by a very large majority.

R. J. Walker, of Mississippi, had now succeeded Governor Geary, and when an election for a new Territorial Legislature occurred, he assured the people that justice should prevail. Encouraged by these assurances of an honest man, the friends of free-labor generally voted, and the law-makers then elected were composed chiefly of their political friends. They also elected their candidate for Congress. That Legislature ordered the Lecompton Constitution to be submitted to the people of Kansas for their adoption or rejection, and it was rejected by at least ten thousand majority. The President of the Republic, regardless of this expressed will of the people of Kansas, sent the rejected Constitution into Congress, with a message recommending its ratification. "It has been solemnly adjudged by the highest tribunal known to our laws," said President Buchanan, "that slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. Kansas is, therefore, at this moment as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina." Congress did not ratify it, but ordered it to be again submitted to the people of Kansas, when they rejected it by an overwhelming majority. From that hour the controlling political power in Kansas was wielded by the free-labor party. Their strength steadily increased, and at near the close of January, 1861, just as the great Civil War was a-kindling, that Territory was admitted into the Union as a free-labor State. The Republic was now composed of thirty-four States and several Territories. Six years after the

decision of Judge Taney and the majority of the Supreme Court, which declared that it was impossible for a black man to become a citizen, that decision was practically set aside by the issuing of a passport by the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, to the descendant of a slave to travel abroad as a "citizen of the United States."

While the struggle for freedom was going on in Kansas, the friends of the slave-labor system, emboldened by the sympathy of the general government, formed plans for its perpetuity. These plans would practically disregard the plain requirements of the National Constitution and the laws made under it. They resolved to reopen the African slave-trade, which had been closed in 1808 by a provision of the Constitution. Leading citizens of Louisiana prepared to engage in it, under the guise of the "African Labor-Supply Association," and captives, as of old, were actually brought across the sea, landed on the shores of the Southern States, and sold into perpetual bondage. Newspapers in the slave-labor States openly defended the measure, and the pulpit uttered its approval.

The President of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, Dr. James H. Thornwell, who died at the beginning of the late Civil War, declared that it was his conviction that "the African slave-trade was the most worthy of all missionary societies." The "Southern Commercial Convention," held at Vicksburg in May, 1859, resolved that "all laws, State or Federal, prohibiting the African slave-trade, ought to be abolished." A grand jury in Savannah, who were compelled by law to indict several persons charged with complicity in the slave-trade, actually protested against the laws they were sworn to support, saying: "We feel humbled as men in the consciousness that we are freemen but in name, and that we are living, during the existence of such laws, under a tyranny as supreme as that of the despotic governments of the Old World. Heretofore the people of the South, firm in their consciousness of right and strength, have failed to place the stamp of condemnation upon such laws as reflect upon the institution of slavery, but have permitted, unrebuked, the influence of foreign opinion to prevail in their support." A Mississippi newspaper, the *True Southron*, in its earnestness for the cause, suggested the "propriety of stimulating the zeal of the pulpit by founding a prize for the best sermon in favor of free-trade in negroes," and the proposition was widely copied, with approval; while in many pulpits "zeal" was exhibited in the service of the slaveholders without the stimulus of an offered prize. And in the United States Senate, John Slidell, of Louisiana, one of the most effective civil leaders among the late Confederates, urged the propriety of withdrawing American cruisers from the coast of Africa, that the slave-traders there

might not be molested; and President Buchanan's administration, inspired by men like Slidell, was made to serve the plans of the supporters of the slave-labor system, by protesting against the visitation, by British cruisers, of vessels bearing the American flag, on suspicion that they were "slavers." These visitations were made in accordance with a positive agreement between the two governments, that under such circumstances, visits should be made freely by either party.

This arrangement had been made for the purpose of more effectually suppressing the slave-trade then about to be opened by the "African Labor-Supply Association;" and in the summer of 1858, the British cruisers in the Gulf of Mexico were unusually vigilant. In the course of a few weeks they boarded about forty suspected American vessels. It was this activity which promised to be an effectual bar to the reviving trade in slaves, that gave a pretext for the President to enter his protest. There was a cry raised against the "odious British doctrine of the right of search," and the British government, for "prudential reasons," put a stop to it. In this case it was only "the end" that "justified the means."

The Fugitive Slave-Law now began to bear bitter fruit, and it soon became one of the most prolific causes of the continually increasing controversies between the upholders and opposers of the slave-labor system. It was made more offensive by the evident intention of the friends of the institution everywhere to *nationalize* slavery; and the perversion of the obvious meaning of the vital doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, by the judicial branch of the government, while the executive branch was ready to lend his tremendous power in giving practical effect to the system, awakened in the breasts of the people of the free-labor States a burning desire to wipe the stain of human bondage from the escutcheon of the Republic. Seizures under the Fugitive-Slave Law were becoming more and more frequent, with circumstances of increasing injustice and cruelty. The business of arresting, and remanding to hopeless slavery, men, women, and children, was carried on all over the free-labor States, and the people stood appalled. By that dreadful law, every man was compelled to become a slave-hunter, under certain conditions; and every kind-hearted woman who might give a cup of cold water or the shelter of a roof to a suffering sister fleeing from intolerable bondage, incurred the penalty of a felony!

This law became a broad cover under which the kidnapping of free persons of color was extensively carried on; and scores of men, women, and children, born free, were dragged from their homes and consigned to hopeless bondage. Our public legal records are stained with the revolting details of the workings of the law; and the newspapers of the day contained

accounts of many stirring events connected with the execution of it. The following facts will suffice as an illustration :

On a cold day in January, 1856, two slaves, with their wives and four children, all thinly clad, escaped from Kentucky into Ohio. They crossed the frozen river to Cincinnati, closely pursued by the master of three of them, on horseback. In Cincinnati, they were harbored by a colored man. Their retreat was discovered by the pursuing master, who repaired to the house with the United States marshal and his assistants, and demanded their surrender. They refused ; and after a desperate struggle, the door was



OPERATIONS OF THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW.

broken open and the fugitives were secured. They had resolved to die rather than be taken back into slavery. The mother of the three children, in despair, tried first to kill her offspring, and then herself. When she was seized, she had already slain one of her children with a knife—a beautiful little girl, nearly white in complexion—and had severely wounded the other two. A coroner's jury was called, who decided that the frantic mother had killed her child, and it was proposed to hold her for trial under the laws of Ohio. But it was discovered that the Fugitive-Slave Law had been made so absolute by the terms of its enactment and the opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States, that a State law could not interfere with it ; so

the mother and her surviving companions were remanded into slavery. They were taken across the Ohio River, and all traces of them were lost.

When the hideous character of the Fugitive-Slave Law, in all its aspects, became fully manifest, the public conscience was aroused to action, and righteous men and women all over the slave-labor States, shocked by a spectacle that disgraced a free people pretending to be civilized, protested as loudly as they dared; and the legislatures of several of the free-labor States adopted measures for relieving their citizens from the penalties imposed upon those who should refuse to become slave-catchers.

By the terms of the Fugitive-Slave Law, the sacred right of trial by jury was denied to the man who was alleged to be a slave, and he had no redress. This was logical, for the Chief Justice of the United States had declared that the black man "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." He had also declared that no State law could interfere with the operations of the Fugitive-Slave Act, or with slavery itself. This opinion was directly adverse to the letter and spirit of a statute in the code of the State of New York, which declared the immediate freedom of any slave when brought involuntarily within its borders. The Legislature of that State determined to sustain that statute, and boldly denounced the opinion of the Chief Justice, which denied citizenship to men of color who had descended from slaves. Ohio took similar action, and Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, and Wisconsin took strong ground in favor of the freedom of the slaves within their borders, without assuming an attitude of actual resistance to the obnoxious act which every citizen was bound to obey so long as it remained unrepealed.

This movement in the Northern States naturally exasperated the slaveholders, and it was used by the politicians among them to create hot indignation in the hearts of the people in the slave-labor States. This, according to the testimony of a personal friend of the author of the Fugitive-Slave Act (James M. Mason, of Virginia,) was precisely what the peculiarly offensive features of that act were intended to effect. It was calculated that it would finally cause resistance to the measure on the part of the people of the free-labor States, and so give a plausible pretext for disunion, rebellion, and civil war, if necessary, on the part of the friends of the slave-labor system. This testimony was given to me orally, while standing among the ruins of Mr. Mason's house at Winchester, in 1866.

The public mind was diverted from the absorbing topic of slavery for awhile by trouble with the Mormons in the Territory of Utah. Early in 1857, these people, incensed because their Territory was not admitted into the Union as a State, commenced revolutionary proceedings. Under the

instructions of Brigham Young, the successor of Joseph Smith, and their spiritual head and appointed governor, they destroyed the records of the United States Court in their district. They also resolved to set up an independent government, and looked to Young for all laws, in defiance of those of the United States. President Buchanan resolved to enforce the latter, and depriving Young of the office of governor of the Territory, he put Colonel Alfred Cumming, a superintendent of Indian affairs on the Upper Mississippi, in his place. He also appointed Judge Eckles chief justice of the Territory, and sent twenty-five hundred armed men, with experienced officers, to protect them in the discharge of their duties. Young at first determined to resist the National Government. He issued a proclamation denouncing the army as a mob, forbidding it to enter the Territory, and calling the people of Utah to arms to repel its advance. When it entered the Territory early in the autumn, it was assailed by mounted Mormons, who destroyed several supply trains and seized eight hundred of the oxen at the rear of the army. The little force, thus crippled, and caught among the snows in the mountains, went into winter quarters. Colonel A. Sidney Johnston was in command of them; and Governor Cumming proclaimed the Territory of Utah to be in a state of rebellion. Finally, in the spring of 1858, a pacification took place. The President offered pardon to all Mormons who should submit to the national authority, and Brigham Young, evidently believing discretion to be the better part of valor, received the new governor courteously. Young, although deposed from his executive position by the appointment of Cummings, continued to exercise great influence in the Commonwealth until his death in 1877.

In 1862, the Federal Government enacted a law against polygamy, then openly practised by the Mormons; but little attention was paid to it, and it was seldom enforced. The Mormons were then 300,000 strong. In 1884, the constitutionality of the Federal law was affirmed by the U. S. Supreme Court, and more than 1,000 men were sent to the penitentiary under conviction for bigamy. Hundreds of others fled, or went into hiding, and the "plurality of wives" was, from that time, both dangerous and unpopular. In 1890, Wilfred Woodruff, the Mormon president, issued a manifesto against polygamy, denouncing it in the name of the Church.

Utah became a State in 1896. In 1898, Brigham Henry Roberts was nominated for Congress by the Democrats of Utah; but owing to a charge made against him that he was living a polygamous life, his case was submitted to a committee, which recommended that he be not allowed to take his seat in Congress.

At present, the reorganized Mormon church is more aggressive in its fight against polygamy than any other organization. The reorganized non-polygamous church has a membership of about 50,000.



CHAPTER CIX.

Public Quiet Broken by John Brown's Raid—Incidents of that Raid and Its Effects—The Republican Party—A Pretext for Revolution—Convention of Democrats at Charleston—Disruption of the Democratic Party—Incidents of the Plan—Nominations for President—Principles of the Parties—Lincoln Elected—Action of the Southern Politicians—Yancey's Mission—Fatal Power of the Politicians.

IN the fall of 1859, the feverishness in the public mind, excited by the vehement discussion of the topic of slavery, had somewhat subsided; the Mormons were quiet; difficulties which had occurred between our Government and that of Paraguay, in South America, had been settled; troubles with the Indians on the Pacific coast were drawing to a close, and the filibustering operations of Walker in Nicaragua were losing much of their interest. The summer had passed away in public quietude, and the topics of a Pacific Railway, Homestead and Soldiers' Pension bills, and other measures for the promotion of peace and national prosperity, were engaging the attention of the people. The equinoctial gales had swept over the land and sea, when suddenly a rumor went out of Baltimore, as startling as a thunder peal on the genial October air, that the Abolitionists had seized the Government Armory and Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, at the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers, and that an insurrection of the slaves in Virginia was imminent.

The rumor was true. John Brown, of Ossawatamie, who had fought and won a battle on the Kansas prairie in 1856, had struck a blow at slavery, on Sunday evening, the 16th of October. Brown was a native of Connecticut, in the sixtieth year of his age, and had espoused the cause of the Abolitionists (as the opponents of the slave-labor system, who wished to abolish it, were called) in early life. He was enthusiastic, fanatical, and brave. He had been active in the midst of the troubles in Kansas, and had suffered much; and he believed himself to be the destined liberator of the slaves in our Republic. With a few white followers and twelve slaves from Missouri, he went into Canada West, and at Chatham a convention of sympathizers was held in May, 1859, whereat a "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" was adopted, not, as the instrument

declared, "for the overthrow of any government, but simply to amend and repeal." This was part of a scheme for promoting the uprising of the slaves for obtaining their freedom.

Brown spent the summer of 1859 in preparation for his work. He hired a farm a few miles from Harper's Ferry, where he was known by the name of "Smith." There, one by one, a few followers congregated stealthily;



JOHN BROWN AT HARPER'S FERRY.

and pikes and other weapons were gathered, and ammunition was provided, with the intention of striking the first blow in Virginia, and arming the insurgent slaves. Under cover of profound darkness, Brown, at the head of seventeen white men and five negroes, entered the village of Harper's Ferry on that fatal Sunday night, put out the street lights, seized the Armory and the railway bridge, and quietly arrested and imprisoned in the Government buildings the citizens found here and there in the streets at the earliest

hours of the next morning, each one ignorant of what had happened. The invaders had seized Colonel Washington, living a few miles from Harper's Ferry, with his arms and horses, and liberated his slaves; and at eight o'clock on Monday morning, the 17th of October, Brown and his few followers (among whom were two of his sons) had full possession of the village and Government works. When asked what was his purpose and by what authority he acted, Brown replied, "To free the slaves, and by the authority of God Almighty." He felt assured that when the blow should be struck, the negroes of the surrounding country would rise and flock to his standard. He sincerely believed that a general uprising of the slaves of the whole country would follow, and that he would win the satisfaction and the honors of a great liberator. He was mistaken.

The news of this alarming affair went speedily abroad, and before Monday night Virginia militia had gathered at Harper's Ferry in large numbers. Struggles between these and Brown's little company ensued, in which the two sons of the leader perished. The invaders were finally driven to the shelter of a fire-engine house, where Brown defended himself with great bravery. With one son dead by his side, and another shot through, he felt the pulse of his dying child with one hand, held his rifle with the other, and issued oral commands to his men with all the composure of a general in his marquee, telling them to be firm and to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

On Monday evening, Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived at Harper's Ferry, with ninety United States marines and two pieces of artillery. The doors of the engine-house were forced open, and Brown and his followers were captured. He was speedily indicted for murder and treason; was found guilty, and on the 3d of December (1859) he was hanged at Charlestown, not far from the scene of his exploits. The most exaggerated reports of this raid went over the land. Terror spread throughout Virginia. Its governor (Henry A. Wise) was excited almost to madness, and declared that he was ready to make war on all the free-labor States. In a letter to President Buchanan, written on the 25th of November, he declared that he had authority for believing that a conspiracy to rescue John Brown existed in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and other States.

Brown was suspected of being an emissary of the Abolitionists, and attempts were made to implicate leaders of the Republican party and the inhabitants of the free-labor States generally in a scheme for liberating the slaves. A committee of the United States Senate, with the author of the Fugitive-Slave Law (James M. Mason) at its head, was appointed to investigate the subject. The result was positive proof that Brown had no accomplices and only about twenty-five followers.

John Brown's attempt to free the slaves was a crazy one in itself, and utterly failed, but it led to events that very soon brought about the result he so much desired. His bitterest enemies acknowledged that he was sincere, and a real hero, and he became, in a manner, the instrument of deliverance of millions from bondage. His effort aroused the slumbering party spirit of the combatants for and against slavery to great activity, and at the beginning of 1860, a remarkable and growing strength of the Republican party was everywhere manifested. Its central idea of universal freedom attracted powerful and influential men from all other political parties, for it bore a standard around which persons differing in other things might gather in perfect accord. The elections held in 1858 and 1859 satisfied the opponents of this party that they were rapidly passing to the position of a hopeless minority, and that the domination in the National Councils which the friends of the slave-system had so long enjoyed would speedily come to an end.

The sagacious leaders of the pro-slavery party in the South, who had been for years forming plans and preparing a way for a dissolution of the Union, so as to establish the great slave-empire of their dreams within the Golden Circle (to be noticed presently), believed that they would **not** be able to elect another President of their choice, and that the time had come for the execution of their destructive scheme. A pretext more plausible than that of the violations of the Fugitive-Slave Act at the North afforded them, must be had, for that act had become too odious in the estimation of righteous men and women in all parts of the Union to inspire them with a desire for its maintenance. No such pretext existed, and the politicians in the slave-labor States deliberately prepared to create one, which, they knew, would be powerful. At that time they were in full alliance with the Democratic party of the North, which was then in power. If it should remain a unit and the fraternal relations with the Southern wing of the party should continue undisturbed, there might be a chance for the supremacy of the coalition awhile longer. But there were omens already of a speedy dismemberment of the Democratic party, for the Fugitive-Slave Law and the attempt to nationalize slavery had produced wide-spread defection in their ranks. A large portion of that party, led by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, showed a proclivity toward independent action, and even of affiliation with the Republican party on the subject of slavery; and the hopes of the friends of that system, of the undivided support of the Northern Democracy, vanished.

In view of this impending crisis, the Southern politicians deemed it expedient to destroy absolutely all unity in the Democratic party and make it powerless, when the Republicans might elect their candidate for the Pres-

idency in the fall of 1860. Then would appear the pretext for a revolution—the election of a *sectional* President. Then the plausible war-cry might be raised—“No sectional President! No Northern domination! Down with the Abolitionists!” This would appeal to the hearts and interests of the Southern people, especially to the slave-holding class, “fire the Southern heart,” and produce, as they believed, a “solid South” in favor of breaking up the old Republic and forming an empire whose “corner-stone should be slavery.” With this end in view, leading politicians in the South, who afterward appeared conspicuous among the confederated enemies of the National Government during the Civil War, entered the Democratic National Convention assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23d of April, 1860, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Presidency of the United States and setting forth an embodiment of political principles.

On the appointed day, almost six hundred chosen representatives of the Democratic party assembled in Convention in the hall of the South Carolina Institute, in Charleston, and chose Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, their chairman. It was evident from the first hour after the organization of the Convention that the spirit of Mischief was there enthroned; and observing ones soon discovered omens of an impending tempest which might topple from its foundations the organization known as the Democratic party.

The choice of Mr. Cushing as chairman was very satisfactory to the friends of the slave-system in the Convention. He was a statesman of great experience, and then sixty years of age; a scholar of wide and varied culture, and a sagacious observer of men. Because he had joined the Democratic party at the time of Mr. Tyler's defection; had been a conspicuous advocate of the war with Mexico and other measures for the extension and perpetuation of the system of slavery, he was regarded by the Southern men in the Convention as their fast political friend and coadjutor; but when they made war upon the unity of the Republic the next year, he gave his influence in support of the National Government.

Mr. Cushing, in his address on taking the chair in the Convention, declared it to be the mission of the Democratic party “to reconcile popular freedom with constituted order” and to maintain “the sacred reserved rights of the sovereign States.” He declared that the Republicans were “laboring to overthrow the Constitution” and “aiming to produce in this country a permanent sectional conspiracy—a traitorous sectional conspiracy—of one-half of the States of the Union against the other half; who, impelled by the stupid and half insane spirit of faction and fanaticism, would hurry our land on to revolution and to civil war.” He declared it to be the “high and noble part of the Democratic party of the Union

to withstand—to strike down and conquer—these banded enemies of the Constitution.”

These utterances were warmly applauded by the *Convénion*, excepting by the extreme pro-slavery wing. *They* did not wish to “strike down” the Republican party. They had a more important scheme to foster. It was their wish to “strike down” the Democratic party, for the moment, by dividing it. They had come instructed to demand from the Convention a candidate and an avowal of principles which should promise a guaranty for the speedy recognition by the National Government and the people, in a practical way, of the system of slavery as a national institution. They knew that the most prominent candidate before the Convention, for the nomination, was Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who was committed to an opposing policy, and that he and his friends would never vote for such a “platform”—such an avowal of principles. They also knew that his rejection by the representatives of the slaveholders would split the Democratic party, and they resolved to act in accordance with these convictions. They held the dissevering wedge in their own hands, and they determined to use it with effect.

A committee composed of one delegate from each State was appointed to prepare a platform of principles for the action of the Convention. A member from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler) proposed in that committee to adopt the “Cincinnati Platform” agreed to by the Convention that nominated Mr. Buchanan, and which committed the Democratic party to the doctrine of “Popular Sovereignty;” that is to say, the doctrine of the right of the people of any Territory of the Republic to decide whether slavery should or should not exist within its borders. Now was offered the opportunity for entering the dissevering wedge, and it was applied. When the vote was taken on the proposition of Mr. Butler, it was rejected by seventeen States (only two of them free-labor States) against fifteen. This was followed on the part of the majority by an offer to adopt the “Cincinnati Platform,” with additional resolutions declaring, in the spirit of Judge Taney’s opinion, that Congress nor any other legislative body had a right to interfere with slavery *anywhere*, or to impair or destroy the right of property in slaves by any legislation. This proposition virtually demanded of the Democratic party the recognition of slavery as a sacred, permanent, and national institution.

It was now clearly perceived that the politicians of the slave-labor States were united, evidently by pre-concert, in a determination to wring from the people of the free-labor States further and more revolting concessions to the greed of the pro-slavery faction for political domination. The manhood

of the minority was evoked, and they resolved that the limit of concession was reached, and that they would yield no further. That minority, composed wholly of delegates from the free-labor States, and representing a majority of the Presidential electors (172 against 127), offered to adopt the "Cincinnati Platform," and a resolution expressing a willingness to abide by any decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on questions of Constitutional law. They also offered to adopt another resolution, denouncing the laws passed by Northern legislatures in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act. Mr. Butler opposed making even these concessions to their arrogant demands. The consequence was, the committee went into the Convention with three reports—a majority and minority report, and a report from Mr. Butler.

The debate upon these reports was opened by the chairman of the majority committee (Mr. Avery of North Carolina), who assured the Convention that if the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty should be adopted as the doctrine of the Democratic party, the members of the Convention from the slave-labor States and their constituents, would consider it as dangerous and subversive of their rights, as the adoption of the principle of Congressional interference or prohibition. The debate continued until the 29th (April, 1860), and on the morning of the 30th the vote was taken in the presence of an immense audience with which the hall was packed. Mr. Butler's report was first acted upon, and rejected. Then the minority report was presented by Mr. Samuels of Iowa, and adopted by a decided majority. Preconcerted rebellion immediately lifted its head, and the delegates from Alabama, led by L. Pope Walker (afterward the Confederate Secretary of War), seceded and left the Convention. This secession was followed by delegates from the other slave-labor States, and they all reassembled at St. Andrew's Hall to prepare for an independent political organization. The disruption of the Democratic party represented in the Convention was now complete. The slavery question had split it beyond hope of restoration; an event which had been provided for, in secret, by the politicians. When D. G. Glenn, of the Mississippi delegation, announced the secession of the representatives from that State, he said: "I tell Southern members, and, for them, I tell the North, that in less than sixty days you will find a united South standing side by side with us." These utterances called forth long and vehement cheering, especially from the South Carolinians; and that night Charleston was the theatre of great rejoicings, for the leaders there comprehended the significance of the movement.

On the following day, the seceders, with James A. Bayard of Delaware at their head, organized what they called a "Constitutional Convention;"

sneered at the body they had left, as a "Rump Convention," and on the 3d of May adjourned to meet in Richmond, Virginia, in June. The regular Convention also adjourned, without making a nomination, to meet at Baltimore on the 18th of June.

The seceders reassembled in Richmond on the 11th of June. Robert Toombs and other Congressmen had issued an address from Washington city, urging the Richmond Convention to refrain from all important action there, but to adjourn to Baltimore, and there re-enter the Convention from which they had withdrawn, and, if possible, defeat the nomination of Mr. Douglas. This high-handed measure was resorted to; and when the Richmond Convention adjourned, most of the delegates hastened to Baltimore, and claimed the right to re-enter the Convention from which they had formally withdrawn. The South Carolina delegates remained in Richmond to watch the course of events and manage the scheme.

At the appointed time the regular Convention assembled at Baltimore, with Mr. Cushing in the chair. The question arose as to the right of the seceders to re-enter the Convention. Some were favorable to their admission; others proposed to admit them provided they would pledge themselves to abide by the decision of the majority. A stirring time ensued, and the matter was referred to a committee, a majority of whom reported in favor of admitting Douglas delegates from the slave-labor States in place of the seceders. In the course of a vehement debate that ensued, a slave-trader from Georgia warmly advocated the policy of reopening the African slave-trade, and his sentiments were loudly applauded. The majority report was adopted, when a large number of delegates from the border slave-labor States withdrew. This was followed the next morning (June 23, 1860) by the withdrawal of Mr. Cushing and a majority of the Massachusetts delegation. "We put our withdrawal before you," Mr. Butler said, "upon the simple ground, among others, that there has been a withdrawal, in fact, of a majority of the States; and further (and that perhaps more personal to myself) upon the ground that I will not sit in a convention where the African slave trade, which is piracy by the laws of my country, is approvingly advocated."

Vice-President Tod, of Ohio, now took Mr. Cushing's place at the head of the Convention, which proceeded to nominate Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, for President by an almost unanimous vote. Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was afterward nominated for Vice-President. Meanwhile the seceders, young and old, had reassembled, called Mr. Cushing to the chair, denominated their body the National Democratic Convention, and proceeded to nominate John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky for President, and

Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice-President. A recent political organization calling themselves the "National Constitutional Party" had already nominated (May 9, 1860) John Bell of Tennessee for President, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice-President. A week later (May 16) a vast concourse of Republicans assembled in an immense building erected for the purpose in Chicago, and called the "Wigwam," nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for President, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for Vice-President.

By a series of resolutions, the Republican Convention took a position in direct antagonism to the avowed principles of the friends of the slave-system and the extra-judicial opinion of Chief-Justice Taney. They declared that each State had absolute control over its own domestic affairs; that the new political dogma, averring that the National Constitution, of its own force, carried slavery into the Territories of the Republic, was a dangerous political heresy, revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country; that the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom, and that neither Congress, nor a Territorial legislature, nor any individuals, have authority to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the Union; and that the reopening of the African slave-trade, then recently commenced in the Southern States, as we have seen, under cover of the National flag, was a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age.

There were now four candidates for the Presidency in the field. The Democratic party was hopelessly split in twain. The Douglas wing made no positive utterances concerning the status of slavery in the Territories; and the party led by Bell and Everett, declined to express any opinions upon any subject. Their motto was—*The Constitution of the Country, the Union of the States, and the Enforcement of the Laws.* Only the earnest and determined wing of the Democratic party led by Breckenridge, and of the



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

Republican party led by Lincoln, showed a really aggressive spirit born of absolute convictions. The Southern portion of the former had resolved to nationalize slavery or destroy the Union; the latter declared that there was "an irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery," and that the Republic could not exist "half slave and half free." This was the real issue; and after one of the most exciting political campaigns ever witnessed in our country, from June until November, Mr. Lincoln was elected Chief Magistrate of the United States by a large majority over the other candidates, with Mr. Hamlin as Vice-President. An analysis of the popular vote showed that three-fourths of the whole number were given to men opposed to the extension of slavery. This significant fact notified the friends of the slave-system that the days of their political domination in the councils of the nation had ended, perhaps forever, and they acted accordingly.

Such is a brief outline history of the conspiracy of Southern politicians to divide the Democratic party; give victory to the Republican party; cause the election of a "sectional President," and so afford a plausible pretext for a premeditated attempt to dissolve the Union and destroy the Republic. Thus far their schemes had worked to their satisfaction; it now remained for them to "fire the Southern heart" and produce a "solid South" in favor of emancipation from what they were pleased to call the tyranny of a "sectional party" led by a "a sectional President." This accomplished, they would be ready to raise the arm to give the fatal blow to the existence of the Republic.

The leading men who brought upon the Southern people and those of the whole country the horrors of a four-years Civil War, with all its terrible devastation of life, property and national prosperity, were few in number, but wonderfully productive of their kind. They were then, or had been, connected with the National Government, some as legislators and others as cabinet ministers. They were not so numerous at first, said Horace Maynard, a loyal Tennessean, in a speech in Congress, "as the figures on a chess-board. There are those within reach of my voice," he said, "who also knew them, and can testify to their utter perfidy; who have been the victims of their want of principle, and whose self-respect has suffered from their insolent and overbearing demeanor. No Northern man was ever admitted to their confidence, and no Southern man unless it became necessary to keep up their numbers; and then not till he was thoroughly known by them, and known to be thoroughly corrupt. They, like a certain school of ancient philosophers, had two sets of principles or doctrines—one for outsiders and one for themselves; the one was 'Democratic principles' for the Democratic party, the other was for their own and without a name. Some

Northern men and some Southern men were, after a fashion, petted and patronized by them, as a gentleman throws from his table a bone, or a choice bit, to a favorite dog; and they imagined they were conferring a great favor thereby, which would be requited only by the abject servility of the dog. To hesitate, to doubt, to hold back, to stop, was to call down a storm of wrath that few men had the nerve to encounter, and still fewer the strength to withstand. Not only in political circles, but in social life, their rule was inexorable, their tyranny absolute. God be thanked for the brave men who had the courage to meet them and bid them defiance, first at Charleston in April, 1860, and then at Baltimore, in June! To them is due the credit of declaring war against this intolerable despotism."

During the canvass in the summer and autumn of 1860, pro-slavery politicians traversed the free-labor States and disseminated their views without hindrance. Among the most daring and outspoken of these was William L. Yancey of Alabama, who was a fair type of politicians in other Southern States who, by vehemence of manner and sophistry in argument, misled the people. He was listened to with patience by the people of the North, and was treated kindly everywhere; and when he returned to the South, he labored incessantly with tongue and pen to stir up the people to rebellion, saying in substance, as he had written two years before: "Organize committees all over the Cotton States; fire the Southern heart; instruct the Southern mind; give courage to each other; and at the proper moment, by one organized, concerted action, precipitate the Cotton States into revolution."

The "proper moment" was near at hand. Mr. Lincoln was elected by a large majority over each candidate, and was chosen in accordance with the letter and spirit of the National Constitution; yet, because he received nearly a million of votes less than did all of his opponents combined, the cry was raised by the Southern politicians, that he would be a usurper when in office because he had not received a majority of the aggregate votes of the people; that his antecedents, the principles of the Republican platform, the fanaticism of his party and his own utterances, all pledged him to wage an unrelenting warfare upon the system of slavery and rights of the slave-labor States, with all the powers of the National Government at his command. They said, in effect, to the people, through public oratory, the pulpit, and the press, "Your rights and liberties are in imminent danger—to your tents, O Israel!"

While these alarming assertions were fearfully stirring the inhabitants of the Southern States, the politicians were rejoicing because their plans were working so admirably, and they immediately set about the execution of

their long-cherished scheme for the dissolution of the Union. All active loyalty to the Government was speedily suppressed by an organized system; and the promise of a North Carolina Senator (Clingman), that Union men should be hushed by "the swift attention of Vigilance Committees," was speedily fulfilled. In this work the Press and the Pulpit were powerful auxiliaries; and by these accepted oracles of wisdom and truth, thousands of men and women were led into an attitude of rebellion against their government. To quiet their scruples the doctrine of "State Supremacy" had been, for a long time, vehemently preached by the politicians and their allies, and the people were made to believe that their allegiance was primarily due to their respective States, and not to the National Government. "Perhaps there never was a people," wrote a resident of a slave-labor State in the third year of the Civil War that ensued, "more bewitched, beguiled and befooled, than we were when we drifted into this rebellion."



CHAPTER CX.

The Pretext for Disunion—True Reasons—State-Rights Associations—Desires for a Royal Government and Aristocratic Privileges—Early Preparations for Disunion—Secret Conferences—Sentiments of Virginians—Congratulatory Despatches on Lincoln's Election—Excitement in Charleston—Public Offices Abdicated—A State Convention Authorized—Secret Doings of Secessionists—Movements in South Carolina—State Supremacy and Its Effects—Events in Georgia—Toombs and Stephens—Movements toward Secession in Various States—Southern Methodists—Initial Steps for Disunion in South Carolina—Dishonorable Propositions—Vigilance Committees—Secession Assured.

THERE is direct evidence to prove that the politicians of South Carolina and elsewhere had been making preparations for revolt many years, and that the alleged violations of the Fugitive-Slave Act and the election of Mr. Lincoln were made only pretexts for stirring up the "common people" to support and do the fighting for them. The testimony of speakers in the Convention at Charleston that declared the secession of that State from the Union, was clear and explicit. "It is not an event of a day," said Robert Barnwell Rhett, one of the most violent declaimers of his class; "it is not anything produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the Fugitive-Slave Law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years. . . . In regard to the Fugitive-Slave Law, I myself doubted its constitutionality, and doubted it on the floor of the Senate when I was a member of that body. The States, acting in their sovereign capacity, should be responsible for the rendition of slaves. This was our best security." Another member of the Convention (Francis S. Parker) said: "It is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us; it has been gradually culminating for a long period of thirty years." John A. Inglis, the chairman of the committee that drew up the South Carolina Ordinance of Secession, said: "Most of us have had the matter under consideration for the last twenty years." And Lawrence M. Keit, one of the most active of the younger politicians, declared: "I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life."

When President Buchanan, in his annual message in December, 1860, declared that "the long-continued and intemperate interference of the

Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States" had produced the estrangement which had led to present troubles, the assertion was claimed by the politicians in the slave-labor States to be untrue. Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, had declared in a speech in October, 1858, that the discussion of slavery at the North had been very useful to them. After speaking of the great value of slavery to the cotton States, he observed: "Such has been for us the happy results of the Abolition discussion. So far our gain has been immense from this contest, savage and

malignant as it has been. Now we have solved already the question of emancipation [from connection with the Northern States] by this re-examination and exposition of the false theories of religion, philanthropy, and political economy, which embarrassed the fathers in their days. At the North and in Europe, they cried havoc, and let loose upon us all the dogs of war. And how stands it now? Why, in this very quarter of a century, our slaves have doubled in numbers, and each slave has more than doubled in value." In July, 1859, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, said he was not one of those who believed that the South had sustained any injury by these agitations. "So far," he said, "from the institution of African



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

slavery in our section having been weakened or rendered less secure by the discussion, my deliberate judgment is that it has been greatly strengthened and fortified." Earl Russell, the British Premier, in a letter to Lord Lyons at Washington, in May, 1861, said that one of the Confederate commissioners told him that "the principal of the causes which led to secession was not slavery, but the very high price which, for the sake of protecting Northern manufactures, the South was obliged to pay for the manufactured goods which they required.

De Bow's Review was the acknowledged organ of the slave interest. In its issue for February, 1861, George Fitzhugh, a leading publicist of Virginia, commenting on the President's message, said: "It is a gross mistake to

suppose that Abolition is the cause of dissolution between the North and the South. The Cavaliers, Jacobites, and the Huguenots who settled the South, naturally hate, condemn, and despise the Puritans who settled the North. The former are master races; the latter a slave race, the descendants of the Saxon serfs." Mr. Fitzhugh added: "Our women are far in advance of our men in their zeal for disunion. They fear not war, for every one of them feels confident that when their sons or husbands are called to the field, they will have a faithful body-guard in their domestic servants. Slaves are the only body-guard to be relied on. . . . They [the women] and the clergy lead and direct the disunion movement." The *Charleston Mercury*, edited by a son of Barnwell Rhett, and the chief organ of the conspirators of South Carolina, scorning the assertion that anything so harmless as "Abolition twaddle" had caused any sectional feelings, declared, substantially, that it was an abiding consciousness of the degradation of the "chivalric Southrons" being placed on an equality in government with "the boors of the North" that made "Southern gentlemen" desire disunion. It said, haughtily, "We are the most aristocratic people in the world. Pride of caste, and color, and privilege makes every man an aristocrat in feelings."

It was by men of this cast of mind that "Southern Rights" associations were formed, and were fostered for nearly thirty years before the Civil War, with disunion as their prime object. The feeling of contempt for the Northern *masses* among the "chivalric Southrons" was more intense in South Carolina than elsewhere. The self-constituted leaders of the people there, who hated democracy and a republican form of government, who yearned for the pomps of royalty and the privileges of an hereditary aristocracy, and who had persuaded themselves and the "common people" around them that they were superior to all others on the continent as patterns of gentility, refinement, courtly manners, grace, and every characteristic of the highest ideal of chivalry, had for many years yearned for separation from the vulgar North. William H. Trescott, who was Assistant Secretary of State under Buchanan, and one of the most active members of the "Southern Rights Association" of South Carolina (the avowed object of which was the destruction of the unity of the Republic), said, in an address before the South Carolina Historical Society in 1859: "More than once has the calm self-respect of old Carolina breeding been caricatured by the consequential insolence of vulgar imitators."

This was the common tone of thought among the leading South Carolinians. Dr. Russell, writing to the *London Times* at the close of April, 1861, said: "Their admiration for monarchical institutions on the English model, for privileged classes, and for a landed aristocracy and gentry, is

undisguised and apparently genuine. Many are they who say, 'We would go back to-morrow, if we could.' An intense affection for the British connections, a love of British habits and customs, a respect for British sentiment, law, authority, order, civilization, and literature, pre-eminently distinguish the inhabitants of this State, who, glorying in their descent from ancient families on the three islands, whose fortunes they still follow, and with whose members they maintain, not unfrequently, familiar relations, regard with an aversion which it is impossible to give an idea of to one who has not seen its manifestations, the people of New England and the population of the Northern States, whom they regard as tainted beyond cure with the venom of Puritanism." There was a prevailing voice, Dr. Russell wrote, that said, "If we could only get one of the royal race of England to rule over us, we should be content." That sentiment, he wrote, "varied a hundred ways, has been repeated to me over and over again."

So early as May, 1851, when there were active preparations in South Carolina for revolt, Muscoe R. H. Garnett, of Virginia, wrote to Mr. Trescott, then a leader of the "Southern Rights Association" in the first-named State, expressing his fears that Virginia would not consent to engage in the movement. The Legislature did not favor it, but he expressed the hopeful opinion that the law-makers did not reflect the sentiments of the people of the State. "In the East, at least," he said, "the great majority believe in the right of secession, and feel the deepest sympathy with Carolina in opposition to measures which they regard as she does. But the West—West Virginia—here is the rub!—*only sixty thousand slaves to four hundred and ninety-four thousand whites!* When I consider this fact, and the kind of argument which we have heard in this body, I cannot but regard with the greatest fear the question, whether Virginia would assist Carolina in such an issue. I must acknowledge, my dear sir, that I look to the future with almost as much apprehension as hope. You will object to the term *Democrat*. Democracy, in its original philosophical sense, is incompatible with slavery and the whole system of Southern society. . . . I do not hesitate to say that if the question is raised between Carolina and the Federal Government, and the latter prevails, the last hope of Republican government and, I fear, of Southern civilization is gone."

The restless spirits of South Carolina continued to confer secretly with the politicians of the slave-labor States on the subject of disunion; and finally, in November, 1859, the Legislature of that State openly resolved that "the commonwealth was ready to enter, together with other slave-holding States, or such as desire prompt action, into the formation of a Southern Confederacy." The Carolinians were specially anxious to secure the co-operation of

the Virginians; and in January following, at the request of the Legislature, the governor of the State sent C. G. Memminger as a special commissioner to Virginia, for the purpose of enlisting its representatives in the scheme of disunion. With protestations of attachment to the Union, Mr. Memminger invited the Virginians to co-operate in a convention of delegates from slave-labor States to "take action for their defence;" in other words, to secede from the Union. He made an able plea, addressed to their reason, their passions, and their prejudices, and concluded by saying, "I have delivered into the keeping of Virginia the cause of the South." But the Virginians did not desire a Southern Confederacy wherein free-trade in African slaves would prevail, for it would seriously interfere with the profitable inter-state traffic in negroes. So they hesitated; and in an autograph letter before me, Mr. Memminger wrote to the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, that the Democratic party in Virginia was "not a unit," that "Federal politics" made that "great State comparatively powerless," and that he saw "no men who would take the position of *leaders in a revolution*."

I have cited these few utterances from speakers and writers who were participants or cotemporaries with the actors in the events of the late Civil War, that the reader may have a key to the real causes which brought about that war. These seem to have been chiefly a desire on the part of the slave-holders to be freed from social and political contact with the people of the free-labor States (whom they regarded as less cultivated, refined, chivalric, and civilized than themselves), with perfect freedom to extend and perpetuate the system of slave-labor, and revive, without hindrance, the African slave-trade. Notwithstanding the *Charleston Mercury*, at the beginning, gave greater prominence to the first-named cause, after more than three years of war (February, 1864), it was constrained to say: "South Carolina entered into this struggle *for no other purpose than to maintain the institution of slavery*. Southern independence has no other object or meaning. . . . Independence and slavery must stand or fall together."

When the election of Mr. Lincoln was certified, the political leaders in South Carolina were eager to begin the contemplated revolution. To be prepared for immediate action, an extraordinary session of the Legislature was assembled at Columbia on the 5th of November; and as the news of the result of the election went over the land, the governor of the State received congratulatory despatches from other commonwealths wherein the politicians were in sympathy with the Secessionists. "North Carolina will secede," a despatch from Raleigh said. "A large number of Bell men have declared for secession; the State will undoubtedly secede," said another from the capital of Alabama. Another from Milledgeville, Georgia, said:

"The hour for action has come. This State is ready to assert her rights and independence. The leading men are eager for the business." "There is a great deal of excitement here," said a despatch from Washington city; "several extreme Southern men, in office, have donned the palmetto cockades and declared themselves ready to march South." A despatch from Richmond said: "If your State secedes, we will send you troops and volunteers to aid you." "Placards are posted about the city," said a message from New Orleans, "calling a convention of those favorable to the organization of a corps of minute-men." A second message from Washington said: "Be firm; a large quantity of arms will be shipped South from the Arsenal here to-morrow. The President is perplexed. His feelings are with the South, but he is afraid to assist them openly."

So was revealed the fact that simultaneous action in favor of disunion had been preconcerted. As these despatches came, one after the other, to Columbia, and were immediately forwarded to Charleston, a blaze of pleasurable excitement was kindled among the citizens of the latter place. The palmetto flag, the emblem of the sovereignty of the State, was everywhere displayed. From the thronged streets went up cheer after cheer for a Southern Confederacy. All day long on the 7th of November, when it was known that Mr. Lincoln was elected, the citizens were harangued in the open air and in public halls, the speakers portraying the glories of State independence. Flags and banners, martial music, and the roar of cannon attested the general joy; and that night blazing bonfires and illuminations lighted up the city. Multitudes of palmetto cockades (made of blue silk ribbon, with a button in the centre bearing the figure of a palmetto tree) were worn in the streets of Charleston. Public offices under the Government of the United States were closed, or transferred to the "sovereign State" of South Carolina, in the most formal manner. On the 7th of November, Judge McGrath, of the United States District Court, solemnly resigned his office, saying to the jurors: "For the last time I have, as judge of the United States, administered the laws of the United States within the limits of South Carolina. So far as I am concerned, the temple of justice raised under the Constitution of the United States is now closed." He then laid aside his judicial gown and retired. The collector of customs at Charleston resigned at the same time; so also did the attorney-general. So it was that before a convention to consider the secession of the State from the Union had been authorized, the Secessionists, with plans matured, acted as if disunion had been already accomplished.

The Legislature of South Carolina assembled at Columbia on the day after Mr. Lincoln's election, when joint resolutions of both houses providing

for a State Convention to consider the withdrawal of the State from the Union were offered. Some of the more cautious members counselled delay, but they were overborne by the more fiery zealots, who did not wish the popular excitement caused by the election to cool before the decisive step should be taken. One of the latter (Mr. Mullins, of Marion), in a speech against delay and waiting for the co-operation of other States, revealed the fact that an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the State were opposed to the schemes of the politicians. He also revealed the important fact that emissaries had been sent to Europe to prepare the way for aid and recognition by foreign governments of the contemplated Southern Confederacy. "We have it from high authority," he said, "that the representative of one of the imperial powers of Europe [France], in view of the prospective separation of one or more of the Southern States from the present Confederacy, has made propositions in advance for the establishment of such relations between it and the government about to be established in this State, as will insure to that power such a supply of cotton for the future as their increasing demand for that article will require." He urged the importance of immediate action. "If we wait for co-operation," he said, "Slavery and State rights will be abandoned; State sovereignty and the cause of the South lost forever." James Chestnut, a member of the United States Senate, recommended immediate secession; and W. W. Boyce, of the National House of Representatives, said: "I think the only policy for us is to arm as soon as we receive authentic intelligence of the election of Lincoln. It is for South Carolina, in



EXCITEMENT IN CHARLESTON.

the quickest manner and by the most direct means, to withdraw from the Union."

Other members of the Legislature were equally vehement; and on the 12th of November (1860) an act was passed authorizing a Convention. The Legislature also formulated the doctrine of "State Sovereignty" or State Supremacy, in a resolution that declared that a "Sovereign State" of the Union had a right to secede from it, adopting as its own the doctrine that the States of the Union are not subordinate to the National Government; were not created by it, and do not belong to it; that *they* created the National Government; from them it derives its powers; to them it is responsible, and when it abuses the trust reposed in it, they, as equal sovereigns, have a right to resume the powers respectively delegated to it by them. This is the sum and substance of the doctrine of State Supremacy ("State Rights" as it was adroitly called) which dwarfs patriotism to the narrow dimensions of a single State, denationalizes the American citizen, and opposes the fundamental principles upon which the founders of the Republic securely built our noble superstructure of a free, powerful and sovereign Commonwealth. And it perverts the plain meaning of the Preamble to the National Constitution, which declares that the *people* (not States) of the whole country had given vitality to that fundamental law of the land, and to the nation. James Madison, one of the founders of the Republic, in a letter to Edmund Randolph in April, 1787, wrote: "I hold it for a fundamental point, that an individual independence of the States is utterly irreconcilable with the idea of aggregate sovereignty." And Washington wrote in a letter to John Jay, in March, 1787, on the subject of the National Constitution: "A thirst for power, and the bantling—I had liked to have said the *monster*—sovereignty, which have taken such fast hold of the States individually, will, when joined by the many whose personal consequence in the line of State politics will, in a manner, be annihilated, form a strong phalanx against it."

The politicians in other slave-labor States followed the example of South Carolina in immediate preparations for secession. Robert Toombs, then a National Senator, was one of the chief conspirators against the life of the nation, and by violent harangues aided materially in bringing upon his State (Georgia) the awful calamities of war. In a speech at Milledgeville on the 13th of November, he exclaimed, "Withdraw your sons from the army, from the navy, and from every department of the Federal public service. Keep your own taxes in your own coffers. Buy arms with them, and throw the bloody spear into this den of incendiaries and assassins [the Northern people], and let God defend the right. . . . *Twenty years of labor,*

and toils, and taxes, all expended upon preparation, would not make up for the advantage the enemy would gain if the rising sun on the 5th of March should find you in the Union. Then strike while it is yet time." Then he cried: "I ask you to give me the sword; for, if you do not give it to me, as God lives, I will take it myself!" In the war that ensued, the sword was given him, with the commission of a brigadier-general; and it is on record that Mr. Toombs, acting upon the maxim that "Prudence is the better part of valor," was never known to remain longer than he was compelled to in a place of danger to himself. On the following evening, Alexander H. Stephens, a man of conservative views and equal courage, in a speech in favor of the Union, exposed the many misstatements of Mr. Toombs, and touched the fiery Georgian and others to the quick, with the Ithuriel spear of truth, when he said: "Some of our public men have failed in their aspirations; that is true, and from that comes a great part of our troubles."

The Georgia Legislature followed the example of South Carolina in ordering a Convention to consider secession. So, also, did the Legislatures of Mississippi and Alabama. L. Q. C. Lamar, a representative in Congress of the people of the first-named State, submitted to the inhabitants, before the close of November, a plan for a Southern Confederacy; and a few days before the election of delegates to the Alabama Convention, the Conference of the "Methodist Church South," sitting at Montgomery, resolved that they believed "African Slavery, as it existed in the Southern States of the Republic, to be a wise, humane, and righteous institution, approved of God, and calculated to promote, in the highest possible degree, the welfare of the slave. They also resolved: "Our hearts are with the South; and should they ever need our hands to assist in achieving our independence, we shall not be found wanting in the hour of danger."

The politicians of little Florida, with those of Louisiana and Texas, followed in the wake of the leaders in the other four States named, in preparing for secession, all of them asserting the right of their respective States to secede because they had "created the National Government." The fallacy of this claim is apparent when we remember that Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and Florida did not exist, even in territorial form, as parts of the Union, when the National Government was created, and that three of them belonged to foreign governments at that time. North Carolina, one of the original thirteen States, joined South Carolina and Georgia, her ancient sisters, in providing for a Convention; and the governors of all the slave-labor States, excepting those of Delaware and Maryland, who had been elected by the Democratic party, showed their

readiness to act in concert with the Secessionists. It was soon ascertained that the President of the Republic, and a majority of his cabinet, were ready to declare that the National Constitution did not give the Chief Magistrate authority to stay the arm of insurrection or rebellion by coercive measures.

Such is a brief outline history of the preparations by politicians in the slave-labor States, for marshalling a combined host for the overthrow of the Republic. The important initial step was taken by those of South Carolina. When the Legislature authorized a Convention, orators of every grade immediately went out to harangue the people in all parts of the State. Motley crowds of men, women, and children—Caucasian and African—listened, in excited groups, at cross-roads, court-houses, and other usual gathering places. Every speech was burdened with complaints of “wrongs suffered by South Carolina in the Union;” her right and her duty to leave it; her power to “defy the world in arms;” and the glory that would illumine her whole domain in that near future when her independence of the thralls of the “detested Constitution” should be secured. Their themes were as various as the character of their audiences. One of their orators, addressing the slaveholders in Charleston, said: “Three thousand millions of property is involved in this question; and if you say at the ballot-box that South Carolina shall not secede, you put into the sacrifice three thousand millions of your property. . . . The Union is a dead carcass, stinking in the nostrils of the South. . . . Ay, my friends, a few weeks more, and you will see floating from the fortifications the ensign that now bears the Palmetto, the emblem of a Southern Confederacy.” The *Charleston Mercury* called upon all natives of South Carolina in the army or navy to resign their commissions and join in the revolt. “The mother looks to her sons,” said this fiery organ of sedition, “to protect her from outrage. . . . She is sick of the Union—disgusted with it, upon any terms within the range of the widest possibility.” This call was responded to by the resignation of the commissions of many South Carolinians; and the leaders in the revolutionary movements in that State, seemingly unable to comprehend the principles of honor and fidelity—the highest virtues of a soldier—boasted that “not a son of that State would prove loyal to the old flag.” They were amazed when men like the late Admiral Shubrick, a native of South Carolina, refused to do the bidding of disloyal politicians, while they commended the action of Lieutenant J. R. Hamilton of the navy, another “son” of South Carolina, who, at Fortress Monroe, issued a circular letter to his fellow “Southrons” in the marine service, in which, after writing much of honor, counselled them to follow his example, to engage in plundering the Government, in these words: “What the South asks of you now is, to *bring with*

you every ship and man you can, that we may use them against the oppressors of our liberties, and the enemies of our aggravated but united people."

Vigilance committees were speedily organized to discover and suppress every anti-secession sentiment and movement in South Carolina; and before the close of November these committees were in active operation, clothed with extraordinary powers, as "guardians of Southern rights." Their officers possessed full authority to decide all questions brought before them, and their decision was "final and conclusive." The patrols had power to arrest all suspicious white persons, and bring them before the Executive Committee for trial; to suppress all "negro preachings, prayer-meetings, and all congregations of negroes that may be considered unlawful by the patrol companies," the latter having unrestricted authority to "correct and punish all slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, as they may deem proper."

The powers of these vigilance committees were soon felt. Northern men, suspected of feelings opposed to the secession movements, were banished from the State, and some who were believed to be "Abolitionists" were tarred and feathered. The committees having authority to persecute, soon made the expressed sentiment in South Carolina "unanimous in favor of secession;" and the *Charleston Mercury* was justified in saying to the army and navy officers from that State, in the service of the Republic, when calling them home: "You need have no more doubt of South Carolina's going out of the Union than of the world's turning round. *Every man that goes to the Convention will be a pledged man*—pledged for immediate separate State secession, in any event whatever."

This promise was uttered before the members of the Convention had been chosen. Everything had been arranged by the politicians; the *people* had nothing to do with it. The *Southern Presbyterian*, a theological publication of wide influence, issued at Columbia, said, on the 15th of December, that it was well known that every member of the Convention was pledged to pass an ordinance of secession, and added: "It is a matter for devout thankfulness that the Convention will embody the very highest wisdom and character of the State; private gentlemen, judges of her highest legal tribunals, and ministers of the Gospel." Even almost the very day when the ordinance of secession would be adopted was known to those who were engaged in the business. In a letter to me, written on the 13th of December, the late William Gilmore Simms, the distinguished South Carolina scholar, said: "In ten days more South Carolina will have certainly seceded; and in a reasonable interval after that event, if the forts in our harbor are not surrendered to the State, they will be taken."



CHAPTER CXI.

Secession Convention in South Carolina—Proceedings of the Convention—Ordinance of Secession Adopted—Public Excitement—Signing the Ordinance—Anxiety of the Loyal People—Secretary Cobb's Schemes—President's Message: Its Tone and Reception—The Attorney-General's Opinion—Movements of the People and the Clergy—Proceedings in South Carolina—Declaration of Independence—Nationality of South Carolina Proclaimed—Events in Charleston Harbor—Secretary Floyd's Treachery—Transfer of Troops to Fort Sumter—The Secessionists Foiled—Floyd Succeeded by Holt.

ON the 3d of December, 1860, delegates to the State Convention of South Carolina were chosen. They met at Columbia, the capital, on the 17th, and chose David F. Jamison president of their body. When he was about to administer an oath to the delegates, a serious difficulty was presented. The Constitution of the State of South Carolina provided that, on such occasions, an oath to support the Constitution of the United States must be taken. That requirement was like a cobweb before the leaders in the movement; and the difficulty was swept away by ex-Governor Adams, who said: "We have come here to break down a government, not to support one." The delegates were all of one mind concerning the object of their assemblage; so they proceeded without the solemnity of an oath of any kind, conscious that the fundamental law of their State declared them to be an unlawful body, and their acts not binding upon any one.

President Jamison briefly addressed the Convention on taking the chair, and closed by saying: "I cannot offer you anything better, in inaugurating this movement, than the words of Danton at the commencement of the French Revolution: 'To dare! and again to dare! and without end to dare!'" These brave words were followed by considerable excitement in the Convention, for intelligence came that the small-pox was raging as an epidemic in Columbia. It was immediately proposed to adjourn to Charleston. One of the delegates (W. P. Miles) begged them not to flee. "We shall be sneered at," he said; and exclaimed, "Is this the chivalry of South Carolina?" But chivalry was not proof against fear of the loathsome disease, and by the first railway train the next morning, the delegates all fled to Charleston, and reassembled the same afternoon at Institute Hall.

The Convention proceeded to business by appointing several committees to consider various subjects, such as the relations of South Carolina to the United States in regard to public property within the limits of that State, and commercial relations; also their connection with the people of other slave-holding States. A committee was also chosen, with John A. Inglis as chairman, to report the form of an ordinance of secession. After debating some questions, and proposing a provisional government for the States that might follow the example of South Carolina in seceding; to send commissioners to Washington city to negotiate with the National Government for the cession of its property within the State of South Carolina, and to elect delegates to meet others from slave-labor States for the purpose of forming a Southern Confederacy, the proper committee reported an ordinance of secession in the following words, in accordance with the theory of State supremacy :

"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention, on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of the State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

It was noon on the 20th of December, 1860, when this ordinance was submitted. At a quarter before one o'clock, it was adopted by the unanimous voice of the Convention, one hundred and sixty-nine delegates voting in the affirmative. They were then assembled in St. Andrew's Hall. It was proposed that the members should walk in procession to Institute Hall, and there, at seven o'clock in the evening, in the presence of the constituted authorities of the State and of the people, to sign it—"the great Act of Deliverance and Liberty."

The cry at once went forth, "*The Union is dissolved!*" It was echoed and re-echoed in the streets of Charleston, and was sent upon the wings of the lightning all over the Republic. Placards announcing the fact were posted throughout the city of Charleston, and again the people of that town were almost wild with excitement. All business was suspended, and huzzas for a "Southern Confederacy" filled the air. Women appeared in the streets with secession bonnets, the invention of a Northern milliner in Charleston. Flags waved; church-bells pealed merrily, and cannon boomed; and some enthusiastic young men went to the grave of John C. Calhoun, in

St. Philip's church-yard, and forming a circle around it, made a solemn vow to devote their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to the cause of "South Carolina independence."

Before night the ordinance of secession was engrossed on a sheet of parchment; and at the appointed time, in the evening, Institute Hall was crowded with eager spectators to witness the signing of the instrument. Back of the president's chair was suspended a banner of cotton cloth, on which was painted a significant device. At the bottom was a mass of broken and discolored blocks of hewn stones, on each of which were the name and arms of a free-labor State. Rising from this mass were two columns made of perfect blocks of stone, each bearing the name and arms of a slave-labor State. The keystone of an arch that crowned the two columns had the name and arms of South Carolina upon it, and it bore a figure of Calhoun. In the space between the columns was a palmetto tree, with a rattlesnake coiled around its trunk, and on a ribbon the words, "Southern Republic." Beneath all, in large letters, were the significant words, "*Built from the Ruins.*"

This flag foreshadowed the designs of the Secessionists to overthrow the Republic and build an empire upon its ruins whose corner-stone should be slavery. To that end the members of the Convention proceeded to sign the ordinance in the presence of the governor of the State, the members of the Legislature, and other dignitaries of the land. When the act was finished there was deep silence. Then the Rev. Dr. Bachman, with white, flowing locks, advanced on the platform whereon the president sat, and with uplifted hands implored Almighty God to bless the people engaged in the act and to favor the undertaking. Then President Jamison exhibited the instrument to the people, read it, and said: "The Ordinance of Secession has been signed and ratified, and I proclaim the State of South Carolina an independent commonwealth." The people shouted their approval; and so closed the first great act in the terrible drama of the great Civil War. A few months afterward, every building in Charleston in which public movements for the destruction of the Union had taken place were accidentally destroyed by fire; and late one evening in 1866, after the "Confederate States of America," organized in Montgomery early in 1861, had become a thing of the past, I heard the mournful voice of a screech-owl in the blackened tower of the Circular Church which stood within a few rods of the grave of Calhoun in St. Philip's church-yard.

In the meantime, the National capital had become the theatre of stirring events. The proceedings of the Southern politicians had been watched by the loyal people of the country with intense interest and anxiety, especially by

the mercantile and manufacturing classes. To these the Southern planters and merchants were indebted to the amount of full two hundred million dollars, and at the middle of November, remittances from the South had almost ceased, owing to various causes. Howell Cobb, one of the most active of the secret enemies of the Republic, was then Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury, and had adroitly managed to strike a paralyzing blow at the public credit, months before Mr. Lincoln's election. When he entered the cabinet in 1857, he found the Government coffers so overflowing, that the treasury notes next due were bought in; in the autumn of 1860, the treasury was empty, and he was in the market as a borrower of money to carry on the ordinary operations of the Government. His management had created such distrust in financial circles, that he was compelled to pay ruinous premiums at a time when money was never more abundant in the country.

This wrecking of the Government by destroying its credit was a part of Cobb's financial scheme for the benefit of his associate Secessionists. Another of his schemes for the supposed benefit of the South was foreshadowed in a letter (the original is before me), written by William H. Trescott, then Assistant Secretary of State, to the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, dated "Washington, Nov. 1, 1860." In that letter, by permission of Mr. Cobb, Mr. Trescott gives that gentleman's views concerning the situation. After some remarks about deferring overt acts of rebellion until the 4th of March following, Mr. Trescott wrote: "Mr. Cobb desires me to impress upon you his conviction that any attempt to precipitate the actual issue upon this Administration will be most mischievous—calculated to produce differences of opinion and destroy unanimity. *He thinks it of great importance that the cotton crop should go forward at once, and that the money should be in the hands of the people, that the cry of popular distress shall not be heard at the outset of this move.*" Mr. Cobb's motive for his recommendation is made apparent by the fact that it was a common practice for the cotton planter to receive pay for his crops in advance. The crop then to "go forward" was already paid for. The money to be received on its delivery was for the *next year's crop, which would never be delivered*. It was a deliberate scheme to cheat Northern men out of many millions of dollars—a scheme which the honest cotton-growers would not have sanctioned had they been aware of it. But in this, as in all other plans then ripening for a rebellion, the politicians would not trust the people with their secrets.

The meeting of the Thirty-sixth Congress on the 3d of December, drew the attention of the whole people to the National capital. It was an event of solemn interest to the nation. To the Annual Message of the President

the public looked eagerly for a definite expression of the views of the Government on the all-absorbing topic. The people sat down to read it with hope, and arose from its perusal with grievous disappointment. Faint-heartedness and indecision appeared in almost every paragraph. After arguing that the election of a President who was distasteful to the people of one section of the country afforded no excuse for the offended ones to rebel, he declared that certain acts of Northern State Legislatures in opposition to the Fugitive-Slave Law, were violations of the Constitution, and if not repealed "the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and Constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union." The Secessionists could ask no more.

The President then considered the right of secession, and the relative powers of the National Government. Before preparing this portion of his message, he turned to the Attorney-General (Jeremiah S. Black) for advice. It was given in ample measure on the 20th of November, in not less than three thousand words. It gave much "aid and comfort" to the enemies of the Union, for it yielded everything to them. It declared, in substance, that any State possessed an inherent right to secede, and when it had seceded, there was no power known to the Constitution to compel it to return to the Union. He argued that by an act of secession a State had virtually disappeared as a part of the Republic; and the power of the National Government being only auxiliary to State life and force, National troops would certainly "be out of place, and their use wholly illegal." It seemed to the Attorney-General that an attempt to force the people of a State into submission to the laws of the Republic and to desist from attempts to destroy it, would be making war upon them, by which they would be converted into alien enemies, and would "be compelled to act accordingly." He counselled the President, virtually, to suffer this concrete Republic to become disintegrated by the fires of faction, or the blows of actual rebellion, rather than to use force legitimately at his disposal, for the preservation of its integrity and life. The weak President, accepting the advice of the Attorney-General, incorporated the doctrine into a portion of his Message; but, apparently conscious of its dangerous tendency, he uttered some brave words against secession as a crime, and State Supremacy as a heresy dangerous to the nationality of the Republic—a doctrine which, if practically carried out, would make "the Confederacy a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States. In this manner," he truly said, "our thirty-three States may resolve themselves into so many jarring and hostile republics, each one retir-

ing from the Union without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process a Union might be entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our fathers many years of toil, privation, and blood to establish."

Seemingly alarmed at his own outspoken convictions, and the offence it might give his Southern friends, the perplexed President proposed to conciliate them by allowing them to infuse deadly poison into the blood of their intended victim, which would more slowly but as surely accomplish their purpose. To do this he proposed an "explanatory amendment" to the Constitution on the subject of slavery, which would give to the enemies of the Union everything which they demanded, namely, the elevation of the slave-system to the dignity of a National institution, and thus sap the very foundations of our free Government. This amendment was to consist of an express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where slavery then existed or might thereafter exist; of the recognition of the duty of the National Government to protect that right in all the Territories throughout their territorial existence; the recognition of the right of the slave-owner to every privilege and advantage given him in the Fugitive-Slave Law; and a declaration that all the State laws impairing or defeating that law were violations of the Constitution, and consequently null and void.

This Message, so indecisive and inconsistent, alarmed the people and pleased nobody. When a motion was made in the National Senate for its reference, it was spoken lightly of by the friends and foes of the Union. Senator Clingman, of North Carolina, who first sounded the trumpet of disunion in the Upper House, declared that it fell short of stating the case then before the country. Senator Wigfall, of Texas, said he could not understand it; and in the course of debate a few weeks afterward, Senator Jefferson Davis said that it had "all the characteristics of a diplomatic paper, for diplomacy is said to abhor certainty, as nature abhors a vacuum; and," he continued, "it is not within the power of man to reach any fixed conclusion from that Message. When the country was agitated, when opinions are being formed, when we are drifting beyond the power ever to return," he said, "this is not what we have the right to expect from a Chief Magistrate. One policy or the other he ought to have taken either of a Federalist, that every State is subordinate to the Federal Government, and he was bound to enforce its authority; or as a State Rights Democrat, which he professed to be, holding that the Constitution gave no power to the Federal Government to coerce a State. The President should have brought his opinion to one conclusion or another, and, to-day, our country would have been safer than it is."

Senator Hale, of New Hampshire, said that if he understood the meaning of the Message on the subject of secession, it was this:—"South Carolina has just cause for seceding from the Union; that is the first proposition. The second is, that she has no right to secede. The third is, that we have no right to prevent her from seceding. He goes on to represent this as a great and powerful country, and that no State has a right to secede from it; but the power of the country, if I understand the President, consists in what Dickens makes the English constitution to be—a power to do anything at all. Now I think it was incumbent on the President of the United States to point out definitely and to recommend to Congress some rule of action, and to tell us what he recommended us to do. But, in my judgment, he has entirely avoided it. He has failed to look the thing in the face. He has acted like the ostrich, which hides her head, and thereby thinks to escape danger."

So thought the people, who perceived that no reliance could be placed upon the arm of the Executive in defending the integrity of the Union. Had they then comprehended the fearful proportions of the imminent danger, they would have almost despaired. Patriotic men wrote to their representatives in Congress, asking them to be firm, yet conciliatory; and clergymen of every sect exhorted their people to be "firm in faith, patient in hope, careful in conduct, and trustful in God. More than forty of the leading clergymen of various denominations in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, united in sending forth a Circular Letter on New Year's day, 1861, making an appeal to the Churches. "We cannot doubt," they said, "that a spirit of candor and forbearance, such as our religion prompts, and the exigencies of the times demand, would render the speedy adjustment of our difficulties possible, consistently with every Constitutional right. Unswerving fealty to the Constitution justly interpreted, and a prompt return to its spirit and requirements whenever these may have been divergent from either, would seem to be the first duty of citizens and legislators. It is our firm, and, we think, intelligent conviction, that only a very inconsiderable fraction of the people of the North will hesitate in the discharge of their Constitutional obligations; and that whatever enactments are found to be in conflict therewith, will be annulled." This well-meant missive operated only as the mildest soothing-syrup; the disease was too malignant and widespread to be touched by anything but the probe and cautery.

While the National Legislature were tossing upon the suddenly raised surges of disunion, and the people of the free-labor States were listening with breathless anxiety to the roar of the tempest at the Capitol, the noise of the storm in the far South was like the portentous bellowing of distant

thunder. It was raging vehemently in South Carolina. The Convention at Charleston, after passing the Ordinance of Secession, appointed commissioners to proceed to Washington to treat for the possession of public property within the limits of South Carolina. They also issued an Address to the people of the other slave-labor States, and a Declaration of the causes which impelled South Carolina to leave the Union. In the former, they said: "South Carolina desires no destiny separate from yours. To be one of a great slave-holding Confederacy, stretching its arms over territory larger than any power in Europe possesses, with a population four times greater than that of the whole United States when they achieved their independence of the British empire; with productions which make our existence more important to the world than that of any other people inhabiting it; with common institutions to defend and common dangers to encounter, we ask your sympathy and confederation. . . . All we demand of other people, is to be let alone to work out our own high destinies. . . . United, we must be a great, free and prosperous people, whose renown must spread throughout the civilized world, and pass down, we trust, to the remotest ages. We ask you to join in forming a *Confederacy of Slave-holding States*." In their declaration of causes for the separation, they failed to point out a single act of wrong on the part of the Government they were intending to destroy, and it consisted chiefly of complaints that the Northern people did not look upon slavery with favor; were opposed to the Fugitive-Slave Law, and did not believe a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was superior in authority to the Divine Law.

On the day when that Declaration was adopted, the governor of South Carolina (Pickens) issued a proclamation declaring the sovereignty, freedom and independence of that State, and that it was vested with national functions. The proclamation closed with the words—"Given under my hand, the 24th of December, 1860, and in the eighty-fifth year of the sovereignty and independence of South Carolina." Then, with perfect consistency, the Charleston newspapers published intelligence from the other States of the Union, under the head of "Foreign News." A small medal was struck to commemorate the secession of the State, and a banner for the new empire was adopted, composed of red silk, bearing a blue silk cross with fifteen white stars, the number of the slave-labor States. The Convention appointed one commissioner to each of the States to invite the politicians to send delegates to meet those of South Carolina at Montgomery, Alabama, to form a Southern Confederacy; authorized Governor Pickens, as chief magistrate of the new nation, to receive ambassadors, consuls, etc., from foreign countries, and took other measures for organizing a national govern-

ment. The governor chose cabinet ministers, and the South Carolina nation began its brief career.

"A nationality!" exclaimed the London *Morning Star*, when commenting upon this Declaration of the sovereignty of South Carolina. "Was there ever, since the world began, a nation constituted of such materials—a commonwealth founded on such a basis? The greatest empire of antiquity is said to have grown up from a group of huts, built in a convenient location by fugitive slaves and robber huntsmen. But history nowhere chronicles the establishment of a community of slaveholders solely upon the alleged right of maintaining and enlarging their property in man. Paganism at least protected the Old World from so monstrous a scandal upon free commonwealths, by shutting out the idea of a common humanity, and of individual rights derivable from inalienable duties."

Charleston harbor now became the theatre of stirring events. John B. Floyd of Virginia, one of the leading conspirators, was then Secretary of War, and was secretly weakening the physical power of the Government by stripping the arsenals of the North of their arms and ammunition, and strengthening the Secessionists by filling the arsenals of the South with an abundance of weapons. Of course he paid no attention to the words of General Winfield Scott, the chief of the army, when, so early as the close of October, he observed signs of incipient insurrection in South Carolina, and recommended the strengthening of the forts near Charleston. And when, at the close of the same month, Colonel Gardiner, in command of the fortifications near that city, attempted to increase his supply of ammunition, Floyd removed him, and in November placed Major Robert Anderson, a meritorious officer in the war with Mexico, in his place. That loyal Kentuckian at once perceived, by various acts, the designs of the Secessionists to seize the fortifications in the harbor, and he urged his Government to strengthen them with men and munitions of war, especially Fort Moultrie, in which he was placed with a feeble garrison. But his constant warnings were unheeded, even when he wrote: "The clouds are threatening, and the storm may burst at any moment. I need not say to you how anxious I am, indeed determined, as far as honor will permit, to avoid collision with the people of South Carolina. Nothing will, however, be better calculated to prevent bloodshed, than our being found in such an attitude that it would be madness and folly to attack us." He continually begged the War Department to give him more strength, and send him explicit instructions; and when he found his warnings treated with contemptuous silence, he wrote: "Unless otherwise directed, I shall make future communications through the regular channel—the General-in-Chief."

Anderson did not know that he was addressing an enemy and not a protector of his Government, who was working with all his might to destroy the Republic. On the very day when the patriotic Major wrote to Floyd, the treacherous Secretary sold ten thousand Government muskets to an agent of the Secessionists of Georgia. Eight days before he had sold five thousand to the State of Virginia; and vast numbers were sent to other slave-labor States. The *Mobile Advertiser*, the organ of the Secessionists in Alabama, exultingly declared that within twelve months one hundred and thirty-five thousand muskets had been quietly transferred from the Northern Arsenal at Springfield (Mass.) alone, to those in the Southern States. "We are much obliged to Mr. Floyd," said the *Advertiser*, "for the foresight he has thus displayed in disarming the North and equipping the South for this emergency. There is no telling the quantity of arms and munitions which were sent South from other arsenals. There is no doubt but that *every man in the South who can carry a gun can now be supplied from private or public sources.*" Floyd also attempted to supply the Secessionists with heavy guns, but loyal men prevented the outrage.

Secretary Floyd found Anderson too loyal for his purpose, but it was too late to displace him, so he left him to his own feeble resources, satisfied that the military companies then in process of organization in South Carolina, would be able to seize the forts in Charleston harbor in good time. Moultrie was weak, and many of the little garrison in Sumter were known to be disloyal. The latter fort was by far the stronger and more important work; and as evidence hourly increased, especially after the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, that the South Carolinians intended to seize Fort Sumter, Anderson, being commander of *all* the forts in the harbor, resolved to transfer the garrison in Fort Moultrie into that of Sumter, and abandon the former. It was a delicate undertaking, for the Secessionists had watch-boats out upon the waters.

Anderson revealed his secret to only three or four of his most trusted officers. Then he resorted to stratagem to get the women and children first into Fort Sumter. They were taken in a vessel, with ample provisions, to Fort Johnson on James Island, where, under pretext of difficulty in finding quarters for them, they were detained on board until evening. Three guns fired at Fort Moultrie was to be the signal for consigning them immediately to Fort Sumter. The movement was regarded by the people of Charleston as a natural and prudent measure of Anderson, who, they knew, believed they were about to attack Fort Moultrie, and so all suspicion was allayed.

At the close of that evening, while the almost full-orbed moon was shining brightly, the greater portion of the little garrison at Moultrie embarked for

Sumter. The three guns were fired; the women and children were quickly taken from before Fort Johnson to Sumter, and the movement was successful. Two or three officers remained at Fort Moultrie to spike the cannon, to destroy the gun-carriages, and to cut down the flag-staff, that no secession banner might float from the peak from which the National flag had so long fluttered. When the soldiers and their families and many weeks' provision were safely within the granite walls of Fort Sumter, Major Anderson wrote to the Secretary of War—"I have the honor to report that I have just completed, by the blessing of God, the removal to this fort, of all my garrison except the surgeon, four North Carolina officers, and seven men."

The telegraph conveyed from the Secessionists to Floyd the astounding intelligence long before Anderson's despatch reached him. It flashed back the angry words of the dismayed and foiled conspirator: "Intelligence has reached here this morning [December 27] that you have abandoned Fort Moultrie, spiked your guns, burnt the carriages, and gone to Fort Sumter. It is not believed, because there is no order for any such movement. Explain the meaning of this report." Anderson calmly replied by telegraph: "The telegram is correct. I abandoned Fort Moultrie because I was certain that if attacked my men must have been sacrificed, and the command of the harbor lost. I spiked the guns and destroyed the carriages to keep the guns from being turned against us. If attacked, the garrison would never have surrendered without a fight."

The soldiers in Sumter wished to fling out the National ensign defiantly before the dawn next morning; but Anderson, who was a devout man, wishing to impress upon his followers the lesson that upon God alone they were to rely in the great trial that was evidently before them, would not consent to the act until the return of the absent chaplain. He came at noonday, when the whole company in the fort gathered around the flag-staff, not far from a huge cannon. The commander, with the halyards in his hand, knelt at the foot of the staff, when the chaplain earnestly invoked the sustaining power of the Almighty. A loud Amen! fell from the lips of many; and then the brave Major hoisted the flag to the top of the staff. It was greeted with hearty cheers, and the band saluted it with the air of "Hail Columbia."

A boat now approached the fort from Charleston. It conveyed a messenger who bore to Major Anderson a demand from Governor Pickens, that the former should immediately leave Fort Sumter, and return to Fort Moultrie. The demand was courteously refused; and Anderson was denounced as a "traitor to the South," he being a native of Kentucky, a slave-labor State. The conspirators in Charleston and Washington were enraged.

At the very moment when the flag was flung to the breeze over Sumter, Secretary Floyd, in cabinet meeting, was demanding of the President permission to withdraw Anderson from Charleston harbor. The President refused. A storm suddenly arose which produced a disruption in the cabinet, and Floyd was succeeded by Joseph Holt, a loyal Kentuckian, who



RAISING THE FLAG AT FORT SUMTER.

wrote to Major Anderson that his movement in transferring the garrison from Moultrie to Sumter, "was in every way admirable, alike for its humanity and patriotism as for its soldiership." Words of cheer came for the Major from other quarters. The Legislature of Nebraska, sitting two thousand miles away from Fort Sumter, telegraphed to him "A Happy New Year;" and cannon were fired in several places in honor of the event.



CHAPTER CXII.

Heroism of Major Anderson—His Wife and Peter Hart—Robbery in the Interior Department—Flight of Secretary Floyd—Cabinet Changes—South Carolina Commissioners in Washington—Attempt to Reinforce and Supply Fort Sumter—Inauguration of Civil War at Charleston—Language of the Politicians—The People Bewildered—Fate of Leaders—"Secession" in Other States—Seizure of Public Property—Northern Sympathizers—Plan of the Secessionists—Dix's Order—Action in the Border States—Concessions—Peace Convention—Adams's Proposition—Convention at Montgomery—Establishment of a Southern Confederate Government.

MAJOR ANDERSON and his little band of soldiers were in extreme peril from the hour when they entered Fort Sumter. His friends knew that he was exposed to treachery within and fierce assault from without, and were very anxious. His devoted wife, daughter of General Clinch of Georgia, was an invalid in New York. She resolved to go to her husband with a faithful servant whom he might trust, if she could find him. It was Peter Hart, who had been a sergeant with Anderson in Mexico, and was warmly attached to his person. After much search Mrs. Anderson found he was attached to the police force in New York, and she sent for him. He came, accompanied by his wife. "I have sent for you," said Mrs. Anderson, "to ask you to do me a favor." "Anything Mrs. Anderson wishes, I will do," was Hart's prompt reply. "But it may be more than you imagine," Mrs. Anderson said. Hart again replied, "Anything Mrs. Anderson wishes." "I want you to go with me to Fort Sumter," she said. Hart looked at his wife a moment, and then promptly responded, "I will go, madame." Then the earnest woman said, "But, Hart, I want you to *stay* with the major. You will leave your family, and give up a good situation." Again Hart glanced inquiringly toward his wife, and perceiving consent in her expression, he quickly replied, "I will go, madame." "But Margaret," said Mrs. Anderson, turning to Hart's wife, "what do *you* say?" "Indade, ma'am, and its Margaret's sorry she can't do as much for you as Pater can," was the reply of the warm-hearted woman.

Twenty-four hours after this interview, Mrs. Anderson, contrary to the advice of her physician, started by railway for Charleston, accompanied by Peter Hart in the capacity of a servant. From Thursday night until Sunday

morning, when she arrived at Fort Sumter, she neither ate, drank, nor slept. In the cars in southern Virginia and through the Carolinas, her ears were frequently assailed by curses of her husband and threats of violence against him, by men to whom the delicate, pale-faced woman, the wife of the man they hated, was a stranger. On Sunday morning, after some difficulty, she procured permission to visit Fort Sumter, with Peter Hart. As the little boat touched the wharf of the fortress near the sallyport, and the name of Mrs. Anderson was announced to the sentry, the major, informed of her presence, rushed out, and clasped her in his arms with the exclamation, in a vehement whisper intended for her ear only, "My glorious wife!" "I have brought you Peter Hart," she said. "The children are well; I return to-night." She then partook of refreshments, and after resting a few hours, she was on her way back to New York, where she was threatened with brain fever a long time. She had given her husband the most faithful friend and assistant, under all circumstances, in the fort, during the three months of severe trial that ensued. She had done what the Government would not or dared not do—not *sent* but *took* a most valuable reinforcement to Fort Sumter.

While excitement was vehement in Washington because of events in Charleston harbor, it was intensified by a new development of bad faith or crime in the Department of the Interior, of which Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, was chief. The safe of the Department was rifled of bonds to the amount of \$800,000, which composed the Indian Trust Fund. The wildest rumors prevailed as to the amount abstracted, making it millions. It was known that Cobb had impoverished the Treasury, and the public was inclined to believe that plunder was a part of the business of the cabinet, for Secretary Floyd was deeply implicated in the Bond robbery. The public held Floyd and Thompson responsible for the crime. The grand jury of Washington city indicted Floyd for "malfeasance in office, complicity in the abstraction of the Indian Trust Fund, and conspiracy against the Government; and a committee of the House of Representatives mildly reported that Floyd's conduct was irreconcilable with purity of motives, and faithfulness to public trusts." But before the action of the grand jury and the report of the committee were known, the offending Secretary of War had fled to Virginia, where he was received with open arms by the Secessionists, and made a military leader with the commission of brigadier-general. His place in the cabinet was filled, as we have observed, by Joseph Holt, a loyal Kentuckian.

General Cass, the Secretary of State, had resigned, and Mr. Black, the Attorney-General, took his place, when the last-named office was filled by

Edwin M. Stanton, afterward the efficient Secretary of War. John A. Dix, a staunch patriot of New York, was called to the head of the Treasury Department, and Secretary Thompson left the Department of the Interior and returned to Mississippi to help his fellow Secessionists make war on the Republic. These changes in the cabinet caused the loyal people of the country to breathe freer and indulge in hope.

At the same time there was another cause for excitement in the National capital. R. W. Barnwell, James H. Adams and James L. Orr, appointed commissioners by the Convention of South Carolina to treat for the disposition of the property of the National Government within the borders of that State, arrived at Washington, took a house for the transaction of diplomatic business, and made Wm. H. Trescott their Secretary. With the formality of foreign ministers, they announced their presence to the President of the Republic, and set forth the objects of their mission in haughty language, and prepared for a long line of negotiations. The business was cut short by the refusal of the President to receive them in any other capacity than as private gentlemen. Their demands had been uttered in a manner so insulting, that the President was justly indignant, and wrote them a letter, courteous in tone but severe in its facts, which called from them a most insolent rejoinder. This communication was returned to them, indorsed with these words: "This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it." Thus ended the "diplomatic correspondence" between the President of the Republic and the ambassadors from a State which its politicians had placed in an attitude of rebellion against the National Government. These ambassadors, after occupying their "ministerial residence" ten days, left it and returned home to engage in the work of the Secessionists with all their might, excepting Mr. Orr.

With more loyal elements composing his cabinet, President Buchanan now seemed to act more decidedly in support of the National authority; and listening to the counsels of Generals Dix and Scott, and other patriotic men, he determined to send reinforcements and supplies to Fort Sumter. The *Star of the West*, a merchant steamship, was employed for the purpose; and, in order to mislead spies in New York, she was cleared from that port for Savannah and New Orleans. But the secret of her destination, revealed to Secretary Thompson while he was writing his resignation, was telegraphed by him to Charleston; and when, on the morning of the 9th of January, 1861, she entered that harbor with the National flag flying, she was fired upon from redoubts which the Secessionists, now become insurgents, had erected on the shores. Her commander displayed a large American ensign,

but the assailants had no respect for the insignia of the Union; and after receiving seventeen shots, chiefly in her rigging, and being unarmed with artillery, the *Star of the West* turned about, put to sea, and returned to New York. This movement had been watched by the garrison at Fort Sumter, with eager curiosity at first, until it was evident that the steamship was in the Government employ bringing relief to the fort, when the guns of the fortress, all shotted, were brought to bear on the batteries of the insurgents. Anderson was not aware of the changed condition of affairs at Washington, and, restrained by positive orders not to act until attacked, he withheld fire. Had he known that his act would have been approved by his Government, he would have silenced the hostile batteries and received the soldiers and supplies on board the *Star of the West* into Fort Sumter. This overt act of the insurgents was the beginning of the terrible Civil War that followed.

The South Carolinians struck the first blow (which rebounded so fearfully), and gloried in it. The commander of the battery on Morris Island (Major Stevens) that caused the *Star of the West* to put to sea, loudly boasted of his feat in humbling the flag of his country. The Legislature of the State resolved that they had learned "with pride and pleasure of the successful resistance of the troops of the State, acting under orders of the governor, to an attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter. The *Charleston Mercury* exclaimed: "Yesterday, the 9th of January, will be remembered in history. Powder has been burnt over the decree of our State, timber has been crashed, perhaps blood spilled. The expulsion of the *Star of the West* from Charleston harbor yesterday morning was the *opening of the ball of revolution*. We are proud that our harbor has been so honored. We are more proud that the State of South Carolina, so long, so bitterly, so contemptuously reviled and scoffed at, above all others, should thus proudly have thrown back the scoff of her enemies. Intrenched upon her soil, she has spoken from the mouth of her cannon and not from the mouths of scurrilous demagogues, fanatics, and scribblers. Contemned, the sanctity of her waters violated with hostile purpose of reinforcing enemies in our harbor, she has not hesitated to *strike the first blow* full in the face of her insulters. Let the United States Government bear, or return it at its good will, the blow still tingling about its ears—the fruit of its own bandit temerity. We would not exchange or recall that blow for millions! It has wiped out half a century of scorn and outrage. Again South Carolina may be proud of her historic fame and ancestry, without a blush upon her cheek for her own present honor. The haughty echo of her cannon has ere this reverberated from Maine to Texas, through every hamlet of the North, and down along

the great waters of the southwest. The decree has gone forth. Upon each acre of the peaceful soil of the South, armed men will spring up as the sound breaks upon their ears; and it will be found that every word of our insolent foe has been, indeed, a dragon's tooth sown for their destruction. And though grizzly and traitorous ruffians may cry on the dogs of war, and treacherous politicians may lend their aid in deceptions, South Carolina will stand under her own palmetto-tree, unterrified by the snarling growls or assaults of the one, undeceived or deterred by the wily machinations of the other. And if that red seal of blood be still lacking to the parchment of our liberties, and blood they want—blood they shall have—and blood enough to stamp it all in red. For, by the God of our fathers, the soil of South Carolina *shall be free!*”

Such was the language of the Declaration of War against the Union by the politicians of South Carolina—arrogant, boastful, savage. Unmindful of the wisdom of the injunction of the king of Israel, “Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off,” they proceeded in hot haste, in the spirit of their Declaration, to inaugurate Civil War, and to drag the peaceful inhabitants of the other slave-labor States into its horrid vortex. The people, whose rights they had violated and whose sovereignty they had usurped, were stunned and bewildered by the violence of these self-constituted leaders, and they found themselves and their millions of property at the mercy of madmen who, as the sequel proved, were totally unfit to lead in the councils of a free, intelligent, and patriotic community. Four years after the war so boastfully begun by these political leaders in South Carolina, Charleston was a ghastly ruin, in which not one of these men remained; Columbia, the capital of the State, was laid in ashes; every slave within the borders of the Republic was liberated; society in the slave-labor States was wholly disorganized; the land was filled with the mourning of the deceived and bereaved people; and a large number of those who signed the Ordinance of Secession and so brought the curse of war's desolation upon the innocent inhabitants of most of the Southern States, became fugitives from their homes, utterly ruined. I would gladly draw the veil of oblivion over the folly and wrong-doing of these few crazy leaders, for they were citizens of our common country; but justice to posterity requires that their actions should be made warning beacons to others who, in like manner, contemplate rebellion against the divine law of the Golden Rule, and a total disregard of the rights of man.

The South Carolina politicians now made frantic appeals to those of other slave-labor States to follow their example, and bind the people hand and foot by ordinances of secession. During the first thirty days of the year 1861, the

politicians in six of the other States responded by calling conventions and passing ordinances of secession, in the following order: Mississippi, on the 9th of January; Florida, on the 10th; Alabama, on the 11th; Georgia, on the 19th; Louisiana, on the 26th, and Texas on the first of February. At the same time the Secessionists of Virginia were anxious to enroll their State among the seceders; and under the control of ex-Governor Henry A. Wise, and of others in Maryland under leaders unknown to the public, large numbers of "Minute-men" were organized and drilled for the special purpose of seizing Washington city and the Government Buildings and archives—a prime object of the conspirators against the life of the nation. Acting upon the suggestions of the politicians of South Carolina, those of other States caused the seizure of forts, arsenals, and other property of the United States within the borders of the slave-labor States. In Louisiana the Arsenal, Mint, Custom-house and Post-office, with all their contents, were seized and turned over to the State authorities, while the President, evidently bound by ante-election pledges, dared not interfere. The insurgents everywhere were encouraged by the leaders of the Administration party in the North, by language such as was used at a large Democratic meeting held in Philadelphia on the 16th of January, 1861, when one of the resolutions adopted, echoing the sentiments of the decision of the Attorney-General, declared: "We are utterly opposed to any such compulsion as is demanded by a portion of the Republican party; and the Democratic party of the North will, by all constitutional means, and with its moral and political influence, oppose any such extreme policy, or a fratricidal war thus to be inaugurated." And a Democratic State Convention held at the capital of Pennsylvania, on the 22d of February, 1861, said by a resolution: "We will, by all proper and legitimate means, oppose, discountenance and prevent any attempt on the part of the Republicans in power, to make any armed aggressions upon the Southern States, especially so long as laws [meaning those concerning the Fugitive-Slave Act] contravening their rights shall remain unrepealed on the statute books of Northern States, and so long as the just demands of the South shall continue to be unrecognized by the Republican majorities in those States, and unsecured by proper amendatory explanations of the Constitution."

Such moral "aid and comfort" everywhere given by Northern politicians, made the insurgents believe that there would be such a fatally "divided North" that their schemes might be consummated with ease, and they did not pause in their mad career. They at once set about executing, with boldness and energy, their preconcerted plans as set forth in the following words by one of them: "We intend to take possession of the army and

navy, and of the archives of the Government ; not allow the electoral votes to be counted ; proclaim Buchanan provisional president if he will do as we wish ; if not, choose another ; seize the Harper's Ferry Arsenal and the Norfolk Navy-yard simultaneously, and sending armed men down from the former and armed vessels up from the latter, take possession of Washington city and establish a new government." Many seizures were made ; and the value of the public property thus appropriated to the use of the insurgents, before the close of Buchanan's administration, was estimated at \$30,000,000.

A defiant spirit now prevailed all over the South. When General Dix, the loyal Secretary of the Treasury, sent a special agent of his department to secure from seizure revenue cutters at New Orleans and Mobile, with special orders for their commanders, the captain (Breshwood) of one of them at the former port, haughtily refused to obey. When the agent telegraphed to the Secretary a notice of this disobedience, the latter immediately sent his famous despatch : " Tell Lieutenant Caldwell to arrest Captain Breshwood, assume the command of the cutter, and obey the order through you. If Captain Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieutenant Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer. *If any one attempts to pull down the American flag, shoot him on the spot !* "

This vigorous order was the first sign given by the Executive Government at Washington of a real determination to quell the rising insurrection ; and it gave hopes to the friends of the Union who had observed, with great anxiety, the President of the Republic sitting with his hands folded in passive acquiescence while its enemies were preparing to destroy it. But the conspirators in New Orleans, who had control of the telegraph, did not allow the despatch to pass. The revenue cutter fell into the hands of the insurgents ; and two days afterward the National Mint and Custom-house at New Orleans, with all the coin and bullion they contained, amounting to



JOHN A. DIX.



1861

\$536,000, were seized by the Secessionists, and the precious metals were placed in the coffers of the State of Louisiana.

While events in the slave-labor States, in the month of January, 1861, were tending more and more toward armed rebellion against the National Government, the people of the free-labor States became fully aroused to the impending danger to the Union. The Border States were also deeply agitated, at the same time, by conflicting sentiments, for there was a very large class of Unionists in each of them. But these were speedily overborne by the violence of the Secessionists; and Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri were finally arranged under the banner of the Southern Confederacy, by their politicians, and these, with Kentucky, bore the brunt of the dreadful conflict that ensued. Kentucky and Maryland were in a doubtful position at one time. The patriotic Governor Hicks kept the latter fast to her moorings among the loyal commonwealths; but Governor Magoffin of Kentucky, who was an adroit politician, failing to drag that State into secession, procured for it an attitude of so-called "neutrality" that was far worse for the inhabitants than a positive position on one side or the other. Governors Letcher of Virginia, Harris of Tennessee and Jackson of Missouri, with their associate politicians, formally committed their respective States to the fortunes of the enemies of the Union.

Meanwhile the loyal people of the Northern States were holding public meetings and counteracting, as far as they might, the revolutionary proceedings of their opponents North and South. They loved peace and desired friendship, and were willing to make almost any concessions to the enemies of the Government that did not involve their honor. When, as the politicians in State after State adopted ordinances of secession, and their respective representatives in both Houses of Congress abdicated their seats and hurled defiance and threats in the face of the Government and its supporters, the latter patiently yielded, and showed a willingness to conciliate the arrogant leaders of the Secessionists. So early as the 27th of December, Charles Francis Adams, a representative of Massachusetts—a commonwealth against which the fiercest maledictions of the slaveholders had been hurled for years—offered a resolution in the House of Representatives, "That it is expedient to propose an amendment to the Constitution, to the effect that no future amendments of it in regard to slavery shall be made unless proposed by a slave State, and ratified by all the States." And so eager were the loyal men for reconciliation, that when the authorities of Virginia proposed a General Convention at the National capital (which was called a Peace Conference), they readily agreed to the measure and appointed delegates to it, albeit many wise men doubted the sincerity of the proposers

and regarded it as a plan to gain time for the perfecting of plans for seizing Washington city.

The Peace Conference assembled at the National capital on the 4th of February, 1861, in which delegates from twenty-one States appeared. Ex-President John Tyler of Virginia was appointed chairman of the Convention. "Your patriotism," he said, in taking the chair, "will surmount the difficulties, however great, if you will but accomplish one triumph in advance, and that is triumph over *party*. And what is party, when compared to the work of rescuing one's country from danger? Do this, and one long, loud shout of joy and gladness will resound throughout the land."

The Convention heartily reciprocated these patriotic words. Efforts were made in the Convention to have an amendment to the National Constitution adopted, that would nationalize slavery. It failed, and a compromise was effected by adopting an article that should *preserve* slavery. With this compromise, Mr. Tyler and his Virginia friends professed to be satisfied. "I cannot but hope," he said, in his closing speech before the Convention, "that the blessing of God will follow and rest upon the result of your labors, and that such result will bring to our country that quiet and peace which every patriotic heart so earnestly desires. . . . It is probable that the result to which you have arrived is the best that, under all the circumstances, could be expected. So far as in me lies, therefore, I shall recommend its adoption." The politicians at Richmond seem not to have responded kindly to this sentiment, and Mr. Tyler was compelled to change his views; for, thirty-six hours after the adjournment of the Convention, in a speech in the Virginia capital, he denounced the Peace Convention, and declared that "the South" had nothing to hope from the Republican party. Thenceforth he gave his whole influence for the promotion of the cause of disunion. Wise men had some reason for doubting the absolute sincerity of the Virginia politicians.

On the day when the Peace Convention assembled at Washington city, a band of men, professing to represent the people of six of the "seceded States," met at Montgomery, in Alabama, to form a Southern Confederacy. They were chosen by the Secession Conventions of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida; and it is a notable fact that the *people* of these States were not allowed to act in the matter. The politicians would not trust them, and took the whole management of public affairs into their own hands. Not a single ordinance of secession was ever submitted to the *people* for ratification or rejection; and the delegates that met at Montgomery, forty-two in number, assembled wholly without the sanction of the *people*. Nevertheless, they proceeded as if they were a body

of representatives, legally chosen by the inhabitants to perfect their plans. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was chosen to preside, who, in a short speech, declared that they represented "sovereign and independent States;" that the separation was a "fixed and irrevocable fact—perfect, complete, and perpetual. . . . With a consciousness of the justice of our cause," he said, "and with confidence in the guidance and blessings of a kind Providence, we will this day inaugurate for the South a new era of peace, security, and prosperity."

It was soon found that perfect harmony could not be expected to prevail in that Convention. There were too many ambitious men there to promote serenity of thought and manner, and the sweetness of concord. They were nearly all aspirants for high positions in the new empire about to be formed; and each felt himself, like Bottom the Weaver, capable of sustaining any character, from that of a "Lion" to "Moonshine." The South Carolina politicians were particularly clamorous for honors and emoluments. Their State, they said, had taken the lead—struck the first blow—in the revolution, and they deserved the highest seats. Judge McGrath, who laid aside his official robes at Charleston, sent word that he would like to put them on again at Montgomery as Attorney-General. R. Barnwell Rhett, one of the most violent of the politicians, thought himself particularly fitted to be Secretary of War; and because his claims were not allowed, he wrote complaining letters to his son, the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, some of the originals of which are now before me, and are rich in revelations of disappointed ambition. On the 16th of February, Rhett said in a letter, written at Montgomery: "They have not put me forward for office, it is true. I have two enemies in the [South Carolina] delegation. One friend, who, I believe, wants no office himself, and will probably act on the same principle for his friend—and the rest, personally, are indifferent to *me*, whilst some of them are not indifferent to *themselves*. There is no little jealousy of me by a part of them, and they never will agree to recommend me to any position whatever under the Confederacy. I expect nothing, therefore, from the delegation, lifting me to position. Good-bye, my dear son." Rhett and men of his way of thinking had counselled violence and outrage from the beginning, but they were restrained in the Convention by more sensible men like Stephens and Hill of Georgia, Brooks of Mississippi, and Perkins of Louisiana.

The sessions of the Convention were mostly held in secret. A committee of thirteen was appointed, with C. G. Memminger as chairman, to report a plan for a provisional Confederate government, and it was agreed to call the Convention a "Congress." The Legislature of Alabama voted a

loan of half a million dollars to enable the Secessionists to set the new government in motion ; and on the same day (February 7, 1861,) the committee reported a plan, the basis of which was the National Constitution with some important modifications. They gave the name of the government organized under it the *Confederate States of America*. This was a misnomer ; for no States as States were parties to the affair ; it was only a confederation of politicians without the sanction of the people.

The constitution of the provisional government was adopted by the unanimous " vote of the States " on the 8th of February. On the following day, the members of the Convention took the oath of allegiance to the *Confederate States of America* ; and then they proceeded to elect Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, provisional president, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, vice-president of the Confederacy. The vast multitude who thronged the State-House received the announcement of the election with vehement applause, and the same evening Mr. Stephens was serenaded. In a brief speech he predicted a glorious career for the Confederacy, if it should be supported by " the virtue, intelligence, and patriotism of the people." Alluding to the slave-system, he said : " With institutions, so far as regards their organic and social policy, in strict conformity to nature and the laws of the Creator, whether read in the Book of Inspiration or the great Book of Manifestations around us, we have all the natural elements essential to the highest attainment in the highest degree of power and glory. These institutions have been much assailed, and it is our mission to vindicate the great truths on which they rest, and with them exhibit the highest type of civilization which it is possible for human society to reach."

Having appointed standing committees, the Convention proceeded to choose a committee to report a form for a permanent government for the Confederacy, and they and the members warmly discussed the subject of a proper national flag and seal. Almost daily, various devices were sent in ; and finally they decided that the national flag should consist of two red and one white stripe of equal width, running horizontally, with a blue union spangled with seven white stars, for, since the beginning of their session, Texas had joined the Confederacy, making seven States in their union. This flag, under which the insurgent hosts rushed to battle, was first displayed over the State-House at Montgomery on the 4th of March, 1861. The Confederate government never possessed a *seal*, the emblem of sovereignty. One which they had ordered from England arrived at Richmond just as the Confederacy was broken up, in April, 1865, and was never used.

When Jefferson Davis was apprised, at his home near Vicksburg, of his election to the presidency, he hastened to Montgomery, where he was

received with great enthusiasm, on the 15th of February. He was welcomed with the thunder of cannon and shouts of a great multitude; and at the railway station he made a speech, in which he briefly reviewed the then position of the South. He declared that the time for compromises had passed. "We are now determined," he said, "to maintain our position, and make all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel. . . . We will maintain our rights and our government at all hazards. We ask nothing; we want nothing; and will have no complications. If the other States join our Confederacy, they can freely come in on our terms. Our separation from the old Union is complete, and no compromise, no reconciliation can now be entertained." He was inaugurated on the 18th, when he chose for his constitutional advisers, Robert Toombs, Secretary of State; Charles G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury; Le Roy Pope Walker, Secretary of War; Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, and John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General. Judah P. Benjamin was appointed Attorney-General. So was inaugurated the government known as the *Confederate States of America*, which carried on war against the life of our Republic for more than four years.



CHAPTER CXIII.

Lunacy—Yielding to Necessity—Wild Dreams of the Future—Boasting—The Confederates Prepare for War—Permanent Constitution Adopted—Adjournment of the Montgomery Convention—Principles of the New Government Expounded—Lincoln and Davis—Lincoln's Journey to the Capital—Narrative of His Escape—His Inauguration and Inaugural Address—Duties of the Administration—Condition of the Army and Navy—Benton's Prophecy—Confederate Commissioners at the Capital—The Virginians—Attempt to Relieve Fort Sumter and the Result.

THERE were symptoms of real lunacy among some of the leaders in the revolutionary movement, especially in South Carolina. When that new "nation" was only nine days old, a correspondent of the Associated Press wrote that it had been proposed to adopt for it a new system of civil time, to show its independence. Only a week after the organization of the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery, the editor of the *Charleston Courier* wrote: "The South *might*, under the new Confederacy, treat the disorganized and demoralized Northern States as *insurgents*, and deny them recognition. But if peaceful division ensues, the South, *after taking the Federal Capitol and archives*, and being recognized as the government *de facto* by all foreign powers, can, if they see proper, recognize the Northern Confederacy or Confederacies, and enter into treaty stipulations with them. Were this not done, it would be difficult for the Northern States to take a place among the nations, and their flag would not be respected or recognized." There was much "wild talk" of that sort; and the venerable James L. Pettigru of Charleston, who remained a firm friend of the Union in spite of the madmen around him, was justified when, on being asked by a stranger in the streets of the city, "Where is the lunatic asylum?" he said, as he pointed alternately to the east, "It is there;" to the west, "It is there;" to the north, "It is there;" and to the south, "It is there; the whole State of South Carolina is a lunatic asylum."

Notwithstanding the same arrogant and world-defying spirit was superficially manifested in the councils of the Confederacy at Montgomery, they were compelled to bow to the behests of prudence and expediency, and, abandoning the position that they would have *free trade* with all the world whereby the riches of the earth would fall at their feet, they proceeded not

only to impose a tariff upon imports, but regarding "King Cotton" as immortal and omniscient, they even went so far as to propose an export duty on the great staple of the Gulf States. Howell Cobb, who proposed it, said: "I apprehend that we are conscious of the power we hold in our hands, by reason of our producing that staple so necessary to the world. I doubt not that power will exert an influence mightier than armies or navies. We know that by an embargo we could soon place not only the United States, but many of the European powers, under the necessity of electing between such a recognition of our independence as we require, or domestic convulsions at home." Of this supposed omnipotent power, and the superior courage and prowess in arms of the people of the slave-labor States, the leaders were continually boasting. Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, a wealthy slaveholder and a son of a New England schoolmaster, writing to a feminine relative in Schenectady, New York, on the 5th of February, 1861, after alluding to the dissolution of the Union, and saying, "We absolve you, by this, from all the sins of slavery, and take upon ourselves all its supposed sin and evil, openly before the world, and in the sight of God," remarked: "Let us alone. Let me tell you, my dear cousin, that if there is any attempt at war on the part of the North, we can soundly thrash them on any field of battle." "One Southron is equal to five Yankees in a fight!" exclaimed Yancey, in a speech at Selma. And the Convention at Montgomery proceeded to prepare for testing the relative strength of the two sections.

President Davis was authorized to accept one hundred thousand volunteers for six months, and to borrow \$15,000,000 at the rate of eight per cent interest a year. Provision was made for a navy and a postal revenue; and Davis was authorized to assume control of "all military operations between the Confederate States" or any of them, and powers foreign to them. The Convention recommended the several States to cede the forts and all other public establishments within their limits to the Confederate States; and P. G. T. Beauregard, a Louisiana creole, who had abandoned his flag, was appointed brigadier-general and ordered from New Orleans to the command of the insurgents at Charleston. Early in March a permanent constitution for the Confederacy was adopted; and a commission was appointed to proceed to Washington and make a settlement of all questions at issue between the "two governments," while the Confederate secretary of the treasury prepared to establish custom-houses along the frontiers of the Confederate States. After agreeing, by resolution, to accept a portion of the money belonging to the United States which Louisiana had unlawfully seized, the Convention adjourned. Their proceedings were never

published, but constitute a part of the "Confederate archives" in the possession of the National Government.

Meanwhile Mr. Stephens, the vice-president of the Confederacy, had assumed the office of expounder of the principles upon which the new government was founded. In a speech at Savannah, on the 21st of March, 1861, he declared that the immediate cause of the rebellion was African Slavery—the rock, he said, on which Mr. Jefferson declared the Union would split; but he doubted whether Mr. Jefferson understood the truth on which that rock stood. He believed the founders of the Republic held erroneous views on the subject of slavery, and that it was a false assumption of the fathers, put forth in the Declaration of Independence, that "*all men are created equal.*" He declared that the corner-stone of the new Confederacy rested "upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition. It is upon this truth," he said, "on which our fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized world." Then, to give strength to his declaration that slavery was the corner-stone of the new fabric, he rather irreverently quoted the words of the Apostle applied to Christ, saying: "This stone that was rejected by the first builders, 'is become the chief stone of the corner' in our new edifice."

While there were preparations in the South for destroying the Union, there were preparations in the North for preserving it. In the former section, they were chiefly material; in the latter, they were chiefly moral, for it was difficult to persuade the loyal people that the Southern politicians would really organize an armed rebellion. At the time when Jefferson Davis was moving from his home in Mississippi to be inaugurated president of the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery, and to declare "all who oppose us shall smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel," Abraham Lincoln was moving from his home in Illinois to the National capital, to be installed Chief Magistrate of the whole undivided Republic, with sublime faith in justice, and to say to the North and the South, in his inaugural address: "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Jefferson Davis was then about fifty-four years of age; Abraham Lincoln was fifty-two. Mr. Davis was, in person, sinewy and light, a little above the

middle height, and erect in posture ; Mr. Lincoln was tall, thin, large-boned, and six feet four inches in height. He was sinewy, easily lifting five hundred pounds. His legs and arms were disproportionately long, and there was no grace in his movements. The features of Davis were regular and well defined ; his face was thin and much wrinkled ; one eye was sightless, and the other was dark and piercing in expression. Lincoln's features were angular ; his forehead was high ; his eyes were dark grey and very expressive, alternately sparkling with fun and subdued into sadness.

These men were both natives of Kentucky, but in early life Davis was taken to Mississippi. Raised in ease and comparative luxury, he was educated at the West Point Military Academy. He served in the army in Mexico under his father-in-law, General Zachary Taylor ; held a distinguished place in the National Congress, and was President Pierce's Secretary of War. Lincoln was born in obscurity ; passed his early days in poverty, laboring with his hands on a farm, in the forest, or as a flat-boatman on the Mississippi. He had settled with his father in Illinois, where he, self-taught, studied law and rose to distinction at the bar, and in the esteem of his fellow-citizens. Davis was a keen politician ; calm, reticent, audacious, polished, cold, sagacious, rich in experience in the arts of the partisan and the affairs of state-craft, possessed of great concentration of purpose, an imperious will, abounding pride, and much executive ability. Lincoln was as open as the day ; loved truth supremely, and country above party ; abhorred trickery and deception ; possessed great firmness of will and a child-like reliance upon God ; read the Bible and Shakespeare more than any other books ; with extraordinary conversational powers and exuberant mirthfulness manifested in sparkling jests, stories and anecdotes, at appropriate times. He was, at one time, a representative in the National Congress ; and on all occasions appeared as a representative American, illustrating by his own career, in a most conspicuous and distinguished manner, the beneficent and elevating operations of republican government and institutions. His last words, when he parted from his home at Springfield, Illinois, after alluding to Washington, whose seat he was about to occupy : "I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support ; and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain."

On his journey to the National capital by way of New York, Philadelphia and Harrisburg, Mr. Lincoln was everywhere greeted with affection and respect. He was in Philadelphia on Washington's birthday, and with his own hands raised the American flag high above the consecrated old

State-House, in the presence of a vast assemblage of people. There, where the Declaration of Independence was adopted and proclaimed, he made an extraordinary speech, in which he expounded his views of the moral power of that great instrument, and declared his belief that by the principles of justice enunciated in it, our Republic might be saved from ruin. "But," he exclaimed, "if this country cannot be saved without giving up this principle, I was about to say I would rather *be assassinated on this spot than surrender it*. . . . My friends, I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by." A little more than four years afterward, his body lay in state in Independence Hall. He had been assassinated because he had firmly supported the principles of the Declaration of Independence!

A plot had been formed in Baltimore to murder Mr. Lincoln while he should be passing through that city. General Scott and others at Washington were so well satisfied of the existence of such a plot, that they sent a messenger to meet Mr. Lincoln and warn him of his danger. The story of his escape was given by the President's own lips to the writer in December, 1864, and was substantially as follows, though in much greater detail: He arrived in Philadelphia on the 21st of February, where he agreed to stop over night, and hoist the flag on Independence Hall the next morning. That evening an intimate friend of his from Chicago (Mr. Judd) invited Mr. Lincoln to his room in the Continental Hotel, where he met Mr. Pinkerton, a shrewd detective from Chicago. They told Mr. Lincoln of the plot. Mr. Pinkerton had been engaged several days in Baltimore in ferreting it out. It was fully discovered, but he could not learn the names of the conspirators. Mr. Lincoln had made arrangements to go to Harrisburg from Philadelphia, to meet the Pennsylvania Legislature there, and from that capital to proceed through Baltimore to Washington. His friends urged him to go on that night through Baltimore to the capital, and so evade the murderers; but he determined to adhere to his engagements, for he could not believe there was a conspiracy to kill him.

When returning to his room at the Continental, Mr. Lincoln met a son of Senator Seward, the messenger sent to give him warning. He said the Washington police had discovered the plot, but they were not aware of the work of Mr. Pinkerton. Then Mr. Lincoln was satisfied that there was danger. After hoisting the flag at the State-House the next morning, he went to Harrisburg, in company with Mr. Sumner and others, dined, and waited for the time to return to Philadelphia, for he determined to go back to that city, and immediately on to Baltimore, instead of leaving Harrisburg the next morning for that place, according to the public arrangements. Mr.

Judd, meanwhile, had obtained such control of the telegraph at Harrisburg, that no communication could pass to Baltimore and give the conspirators a knowledge of the change in arrangements. In New York Mr. Lincoln had been presented with a fine beaver hat, and in it had been placed a soft wool hat. He had the hats in a box in his room. He had never worn a soft wool hat in his life; so, after making arrangements for Mr. Lamon (afterward marshal of the District of Columbia), whom nobody knew, and Mr. Judd, to accompany him, Mr. Lincoln put on an old overcoat he had with him, and with the soft hat in his pocket, he walked out the back door of the hotel where he was stopping, bareheaded, without exciting any special curiosity. "Then I put on the soft hat and joined my friends," said Mr. Lincoln, "for I was not the same man." They returned to Philadelphia, where they found a despatch from Pinkerton, at Baltimore, that it was doubtful whether the conspirators had courage to execute their scheme; but as the arrangements had been made, they went on in a special train. "We were a long time in the station at Baltimore," said the President. "I heard people talking around, but no one particularly observed me. At an early hour on Saturday morning, at about the time I was expected to leave Harrisburg, I arrived in Washington."

Mr. Lincoln was warmly welcomed by his friends in Washington city, and when, at an early hour after his arrival (February 23, 1861), he called on President Buchanan, the latter could hardly believe his eyes. He gave the President-elect a cordial welcome. So also did General Scott, who, the Secessionists thought, would join them because he was a Virginian; but he was loyal to the core, and had filled Washington city with troops in such numbers, it was supposed, that serious interference with Mr. Lincoln's inauguration was made impossible. That ceremony took place on Monday, the 4th of March, 1861. Chief Justice Taney administered the oath. There was no disturbance. The scheme of the Secessionists to prevent Mr. Lincoln's inauguration had been frustrated, but the plan of the Confederates to ultimately seize the National capital was still a cherished one. Only about six hundred troops were there, but as they had been gathered in small numbers at a time from various points, and kept concealed, the Secessionists believed there were many thousands of them; and when the small number was revealed on the first of March, it was too late to call together the "minute-men" of Maryland and Virginia. Meanwhile President Buchanan had been greatly harassed by the Secessionists. Governor Pickens had demanded of Major Anderson the surrender of Fort Sumter. Anderson refused; whereupon the governor sent J. W. Hayne, the attorney-general of South Carolina, to Washington, to make the same demand. The Presi-

dent's course was vacillating; and in this, as in other matters, he resolved to cast the responsibility upon his successor. The Secessionists had failed to accomplish, through the arts of diplomacy, a recognition by the National Government of the sovereignty of any States; and their efforts ceased early in February. Mr. Buchanan left the chair of state for private life a deeply humiliated and sorrowing man. On bidding Senator Fitzpatrick good-bye, and with the consciousness of rare opportunities for winning glory and renown as a patriot forever lost, he said: "The current of public opinion warns me that we shall never meet again on this side the grave. I have tried to do my duty to both sections, and have displeased both. I feel isolated in the world."

President Lincoln, standing at the east front of the Capitol, like Saul among the prophets, head and shoulders above other men, read his inaugural address in a clear, loud voice, in the ears of a vast multitude of people, who heard him distinctly, and who greeted its sentences with cheer after cheer. It had been waited for by the loyal people of the land with the greatest anxiety, for it was expected to foreshadow the policy of the new administration. And so it did. It gave no uncertain sound. To the people of the slave-labor States he first addressed a few assuring words, in which he said: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." He read a resolution of the Republican Convention that nominated him, which declared that the rights of the States, in order that they might control their own institutions, should be maintained inviolate, and denouncing as a high crime the invasion by an armed force of any State or Territory, "no matter under what pretext." He reiterated these sentiments as his own; assured the people that "the prosperity, peace, and security of no section" were to be "in any wise endangered by the new incoming Administration," and that every section of the Union should have equal protection.

Mr. Lincoln then discussed the political structure and character of the Republic, showing that the Union is older than the Constitution; that it is necessarily *perpetual*; that there is no inherent power in the whole or in part to terminate it, and that the secession of a State was impossible. Assuming that the Republic was unbroken, he declared that, to the extent of his ability, he should take care, as the Constitution required him to do, that the laws should be executed in all the States, performing that duty as far as practicable, unless his "rightful masters, the American people," should withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. "I trust this will not be regarded as a menace," he continued,

"but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself. In doing this," he added, "there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the National authority." He declared that the power confided to him should be used "to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts."

So, in a frank, generous, kindly manner, did Mr. Lincoln avow his determination to perform the duties of the Chief Executive of the nation, according to his convictions and his ability. He had said in a speech at Trenton, on his way from New York to Philadelphia: "I shall do all that may be in my power to promote a peaceful settlement of all our difficulties. The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am—no one who would do more to preserve it; *but it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly.*" The *Springfield Journal*, published at the home of Mr. Lincoln, and his accredited "organ," had said weeks before: "If South Carolina violates the law [by obstructing the collection of the revenue], then comes the tug of war. The President of the United States, in such an emergency, has a plain duty to perform. Mr. Buchanan may shirk it, or the emergency may not exist during his administration. If not, then the Union will last through his term of office. If the overt act, on the part of South Carolina, takes place on or after the 4th of March, 1861, then the duty of executing the laws will devolve upon Mr. Lincoln." So felt all the loyal people of the land; and they were strengthened by hope, given in the promise of his inaugural address that he should faithfully do his duty.

In that address, the President also declared that he should "endeavor, by justice, to reconcile all discontents;" and he asked the enemies of the Government to point to a single instance where "any right, plainly written in the Constitution," had ever been denied. He then showed the danger of the precedent established by secession, for it might lead to infinite subdivisions by discontented minorities. "Plainly," he said, "the central idea of secession is anarchy." He referred to the impossibility of a dissolution of the Union, physically speaking; and contemplating a state of political separation of the sections, he asked, significantly, "Can treaties be more faithfully enforced among aliens than laws can among friends?" He reminded them that their respective territories must remain "face to face;" that they could not "fight always," and that the causes of feuds would continue to exist. He begged his countrymen to take time for serious deliberation. "Such of you," he said, "as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it

would, to change either. . . . In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of Civil War. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government; whilst I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend' it.'

The Secessionists would listen to no words of kindness, of justice, or of warning; they had resolved to destroy the Union at all hazards; and the prophecy of Thomas H. Benton, uttered in 1857, was speedily fulfilled. He knew their schemes, for they had long tried to enlist him in them. "So long as the people of the North," he said to Senator Wilson, "shall be content to attend to commerce and manufactures, and accept the policy and rule of the disunionists, they will condescend to remain in the Union; but should the Northern people attempt to exercise their just influence in the nation, they would attempt to seize the Government or disrupt the Union; but," he said, with terrible emphasis, "*God and their own crimes will put them in the hands of the people.*"

Mr. Lincoln chose for his constitutional advisers, Wm. H. Seward of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb Smith of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Montgomery Blair of Maryland, Postmaster-General; and Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney-General. With these men Mr. Lincoln began his eventful administration. With the close of the "Inauguration Ball," the night before these appointments were made, ended the poetry of his life; after that it was all the prose of care, anxiety, and incessant labor incident to the daily life of a conscientious head of a nation in a state of civil war. The plain meaning of his inaugural address was distorted by the Confederates to inflame the minds of the people in the slave-labor States. It was misrepresented and maligned, and the people were bewildered. Meanwhile the President and his cabinet went calmly at work to ascertain the condition of the ship of state. Means were planned for replenishing the exhausted Treasury and to strengthen the public credit. The condition of the Army and Navy was contemplated with great solicitude, for it was evident that the Confederates had resolved on war. Of the twenty forts in the slave-labor States, all but four had been seized by them. Every arsenal there was in their possession. The entire regular force of the Republic, in soldiers, was sixteen thousand men, and these were mostly on the Western frontiers, guarding the settlers against the Indians; and of this small number, General David E. Twiggs had treacherously surrendered

between two and three thousand, with munitions of war, into the hands of the Texan insurgents, so early as the middle of February.

The little National navy, like the army, had been placed far beyond the reach of the Government, for immediate use. It consisted of ninety vessels of all classes, but only forty-two were in commission. Twenty-eight, carrying an aggregate of nearly nine hundred guns, were lying in ports, dismantled, and could not be made ready for sea, some of them, in several months. Most of those in commission had been sent to distant seas; and the entire available force for the defence of the whole Atlantic coast of the Republic was the *Brooklyn*, 25, and the store-ship *Relief*, of two guns. The *Brooklyn* drew too much water to enter Charleston harbor, where war had begun, with safety; and the *Relief* had been ordered to the coast of Africa with stores for the squadron there. Many of the naval officers were born in slave-labor States; so also were those of the army; and many of both arms of the service deserted their flag at the critical moment, and joined the enemies of their Government. The amazing fact was presented that Mr. Buchanan's Secretaries of War and Navy had so disposed the available military forces of the Republic that it could not command their services at the critical moment when the hand of its enemy was raised to destroy its life. The public offices were swarming with disloyal men, and for a full month the President, knowing the importance of having faithful instruments to work with, was engaged in relieving the Government of these unfaithful servants. He wisely strengthened his arm by calling to his aid loyal men, before he ventured to strike a blow in defence of the threatened National authority.

We have observed that the Convention at Montgomery appointed commissioners to treat with the National Government upon matters of mutual interest. Two of these (John Forsyth and Martin J. Crawford) arrived in Washington city on the 5th of March (1861), and asked for an "unofficial interview" with the Secretary of State. It was declined, when they sent him a sealed communication setting forth the object of their mission as representatives of "a government perfect in all its parts, and endowed with all the means of self-support," and asking for an opportunity to "present their credentials" at an early day. This communication—this adroit attempt to obtain a recognition of the sovereignty of the Confederate States from the National Government, failed. In a "memorandum" which he sent to them, the Secretary referred to the principles laid down in the inaugural address, and, like Mr. Lincoln, he declared the doctrine that no State as a State had seceded or could secede, and that, consequently, the "Confederate States government" had no legal existence. The commissioners remained more than a month in Washington, and then, after giving the Secretary

(Mr. Seward) a lecture on the theory of government, they left for home on the day when the South Carolinians proceeded to attack Fort Sumter.

Among the first questions that demanded the attention of the new Administration was, "Shall Fort Sumter be reinforced and supplied?" They were anxious for peace, and the question was kept in abeyance until late in March, when Gustavus V. Fox (afterward the efficient Assistant Secretary of the Navy) was sent to Charleston harbor to ascertain the exact condition of things there. He found that Major Anderson had sufficient supplies to last him until the 12th of April, and it was understood between them that if not supplied, he must surrender or evacuate the fort at noon on that day. On his return to Washington Mr. Fox reported to the President that if succor was to be afforded to Anderson, it must be before the middle of April. The President, anxious for peace, and not to bring on a collision with the South Carolina insurgents, had listened favorably to urgent advice to abandon Sumter and not precipitate hostilities. The Virginia State Convention was then in session considering the propriety of leaving the Union. Mr. Lincoln sent for a professed Union man in that body, and said to him, "If your Convention shall adjourn, instead of staying in session menacing the Government, I will immediately direct Major Anderson to evacuate Fort Sumter." Had the Virginia politicians wanted peace, this request would have been complied with. On the contrary, this professed Virginia Unionist replied, "Sir, the United States must instantly evacuate Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens, and give assurances that no attempt will be made to collect revenue in the Southern ports."

This virtual demand for the President to recognize the Southern Confederacy as an independent nation, caused him to "put the foot down firmly." He ordered an expedition to be sent to Charleston harbor immediately, under the direction of Mr. Fox (who had offered a plan for such action), with provisions and troops for Fort Sumter. Fox sailed from New York with a squadron of eight vessels, on the 9th of April, but only three reached the vicinity of Charleston harbor, which they could not enter because of a terrible storm that was sweeping over the ocean in that region. While these vessels (the *Baltic*, carrying the troops, and the *Pawnee* and *Harriet Lane*) were buffeting the tempest, the insurgents attacked Fort Sumter with bombshells and solid shot, with great fury. For three months after the expulsion of the *Star of the West*, Anderson had been kept in suspense by the temporizing policy of his Government. He had seen forts and batteries piled around Fort Sumter for its destruction, and had been compelled to keep his own great guns muzzled, waiting for an attack. Nearly all that time he was menaced daily with hostilities; abused by the Southern press; misrepre-

sented by the Northern newspapers, and yet was forced to passively endure his situation until his supplies were exhausted. He had sent away the women and children to New York, in February, and had calmly awaited the course of events.

Meanwhile the leaders in the revolutionary movement were impatient to begin the destructive work. They were vehemently urging Virginia and other Border States to openly and practically espouse their cause. They feared the cooling effects of delay and hesitation, and anxiously sought a pretext for firing the first gun. The crisis was reached on the morning of the 8th of April, when President Lincoln, with the most generous fairness, telegraphed to Governor Pickens that he was about to send relief to Fort Sumter. It produced the most intense excitement in Charleston. Beauregard, who was in command of the armed insurgents there, sent the message to Montgomery, to which L. Pope Walker, the Confederate Secretary of War, replied on the 10th, ordering him to demand the evacuation of the fort. "If this is refused," he said, "proceed, in such manner as you may determine, to reduce it." Beauregard replied, "The demand will be made to-morrow."



CHAPTER CXIV.

Virginians in Charleston—A Cry for Blood—Events in Charleston—Siege of Fort Sumter—Incidents of the Struggle—Evacuation of the Fort—Joyful Feelings in Charleston—Gratitude of the Loyal People Displayed—Honors to Major Anderson—Attempts to Capture Fort Pickens—Honors to Lieutenant Slemmer—President's Call for Troops—Responses to the Call—Uprising of the Loyal People—Boastings of the Northern Press—A Fatal Mistake—Interpretations of Scripture—Proclamations and Counter-Proclamations—Privateering Recommended to the Confederates—Action of the Confederate Congress—Privateers Commissioned.

THE hesitation of Virginia to join the Confederacy, gave the leaders in South Carolina many misgivings as to her "patriotism;" but two of her sons, who were in Charleston at this crisis, gave them assurance of her "fidelity to the cause." These were Edmund Ruffin, a gray-haired old man, and Roger A. Pryor, a young lawyer, who had served a term in the National Congress. Pryor was serenaded on the evening of the 10th of April (1861), and in response to the compliment he made a characteristic speech. "Gentlemen," he said, "I thank you especially that you have at last annihilated this cursed Union, reeking with corruption and insolent with excess of tyranny. Thank God it is at last blasted and riven by the lightning wrath of an outraged and indignant people. Not only is it gone, but gone forever. . . . Do not distrust Virginia. As sure as to-morrow's sun will rise upon us, just so sure will Virginia be a member of the Southern Confederacy. And I will tell you, gentlemen," said Mr. Pryor with great vehemence of manner, "what will put her in the Southern Confederacy in less than an hour by Shrewsbury clock—*strike a blow!* The very moment that blood is shed, old Virginia will make common cause with her sisters of the South."

This cry for blood was telegraphed to Montgomery, when a member of the Alabama Legislature (Mr. Gilchrist) said to Davis and his cabinet: "Gentlemen, unless you sprinkle blood in the faces of the people of Alabama, they will be back in the old Union in less than ten days." Beauregard was at once ordered to shed blood if necessary, and so "fire the Southern heart." That officer sent a deputation to Major Anderson to demand the immediate surrender of Fort Sumter. The supplies for the garrison were nearly

exhausted, and Anderson replied: "I will evacuate the fort in five days if I do not receive controlling instructions from my Government." Davis knew better than Anderson that vessels were on their way with supplies for the fort, and he instructed Beauregard to act accordingly. So, at a little past three o'clock in the morning of the 12th of April, that officer announced to Anderson, that within one hour the batteries, which then formed a semi-circle around Sumter, would open upon the fort. The military in Charleston had been summoned to their posts early in the evening, in anticipation of this movement, and a call was made by telegraph to the surrounding country to send four thousand men into the city.

At the appointed hour the heavy booming of a cannon on James Island awakened the sleepers in Charleston, and the streets were soon thronged with people. From the broad throat of a mortar a fiery bomb-shell sped through the black night and exploded over Sumter. After a brief pause, another heavy gun at Cumming's Point, on Morris Island, sent a large round-shot that struck against the granite wall of the fort with fearful force. That gun was fired by the white-haired Virginian (Ruffin), who had begged the privilege of firing the first shot against Sumter. He boasted of the deed so long as he lived. In the early summer of 1865, when he was over seventy years of age, he deliberately blew off the top of his head with his gun, declaring in a note which he left—"I cannot survive the liberties of my country." His shot was followed by a tempest of shells and balls from full thirty cannons and mortars which opened at once upon the fort, but which elicited no response until about seven o'clock in the morning. Then, by a judicious arrangement of the little garrison, the great guns of Sumter were enabled to play upon all the hostile batteries at the same time, under the skillful directions of Captain Doubleday, Surgeon Crawford, and Lieutenant Snyder. Doubleday and Crawford afterward became distinguished major-generals. But it was evident, after four hours of hard and skillful labor at the guns, that Fort Sumter could not seriously injure the works opposed to it. On Cumming's Point was an iron-plated battery that was absolutely invulnerable to missiles hurled upon it from Fort Sumter.

A fearful contest had now begun. The walls and parapets of the fort were soon shattered; its *barbette* guns were dismounted, and its barracks and officers' quarters were set on fire. News of the relief squadron had reached the garrison, and Surgeon Crawford bravely ascended to the parapet to look for it. He distinctly saw the three ships struggling with the storm outside the bar. Their near presence nerved the hearts and muscles of the soldiers, but their hopes were vain. The little squadron was compelled to leave the band of brave men in Sumter without relief.

All that day the assault continued, and all that night, which was dark and stormy, a sluggish bombardment of the fort was kept up; and when, on the following morning (April 13, 1861), on which the sun rose in unclouded splendor, it was renewed with increased vigor, the wearied garrison of not more than seventy men, found their supplies almost exhausted. In three days they must be starved out. On that morning the last parcel of rice had been cooked, and nothing but salted pork was left to be eaten. Red-hot

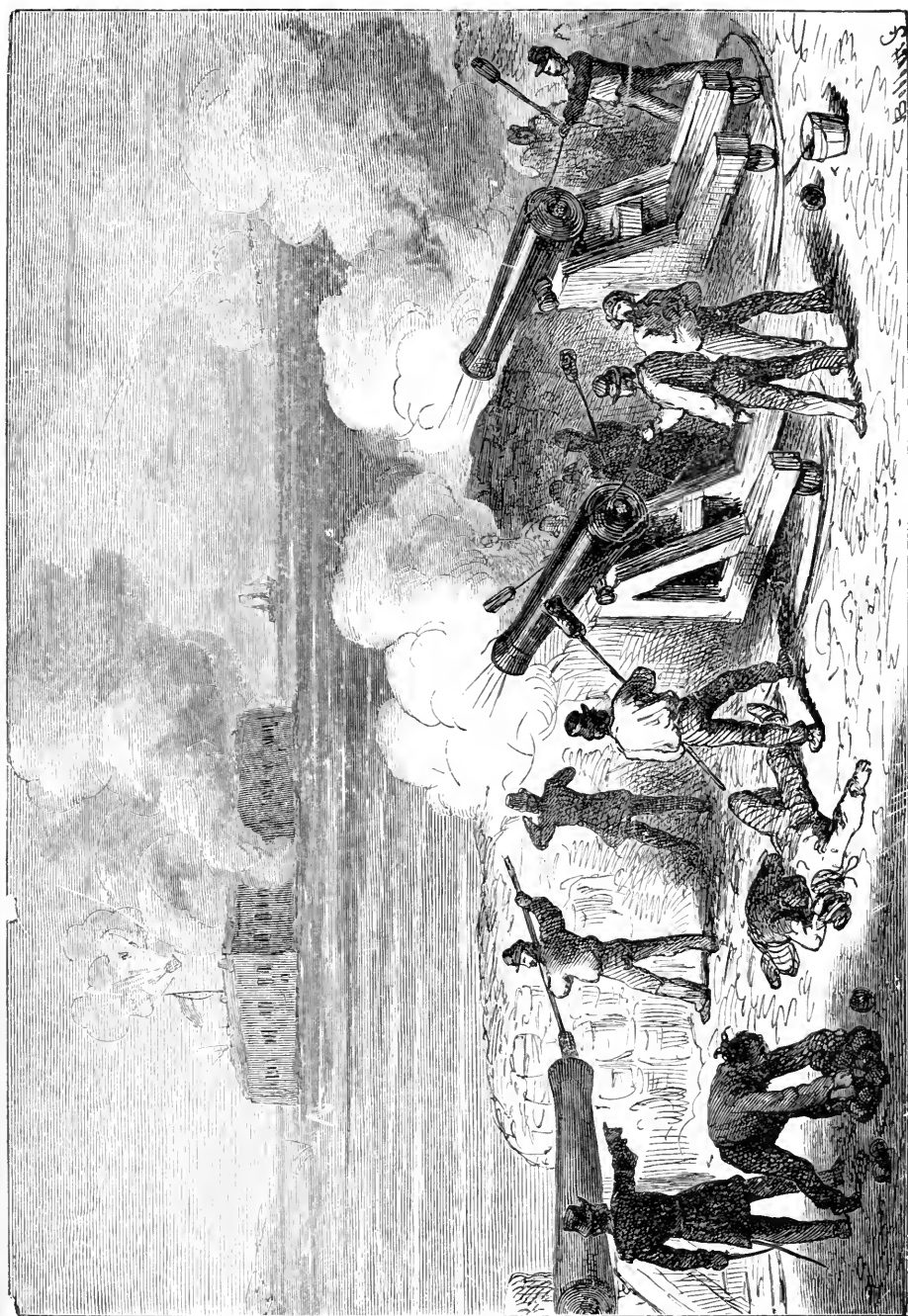


REPLACING THE FLAG ON SUMTER.

shot were making havoc among the wooden structures of the fort. The flames spread, and the heat was intolerable. The fire threatened the magazine, and ninety barrels of powder were rolled into the sea. The smoke and heat were so stifling, that the men were often compelled to lie upon the ground with wet cloths over their faces to enable them to breathe. The old flag was kept flying until a shot cut its staff, and it fell to the ground at a little past noon. It was caught up, carried to the ramparts, and there replanted by Sergeant Peter Hart, Major Anderson's faithful servant and friend.

When the flag of Sumter fell, the insurgents shouted, for they regarded its downfall as a token of submission. A boat instantly shot out from Cum-

ming's Point, bearing an officer who held a white handkerchief on the point of his sword as a flag of truce. He landed at the wharf at Fort Sumter, and, hurrying to the nearest port-hole, begged a soldier to let him in. The faithful man refused. "I am General Wigfall, of Beauregard's staff, and want to see Major Anderson!" he cried. The soldier said, "Stand there until I can call the commander." "For God's sake," cried Wigfall, "let me in! I can't stand out here in the firing." He ran around to the sallyport, but was there confronted by its blazing ruins. Then the poor fellow, half dead with fright, ran around the fort waving his white handkerchief toward



THE ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER

his fellow-insurgents, to prevent their firing; but it was in vain. At last, out of sheer pity, he was allowed to crawl into a port-hole, after giving up his sword, where he was met by some of the officers of the fort. He told them who he was; that he had been sent by Beauregard to stop the firing, and begged them piteously to raise a white flag. "You are on fire," he said, "and your flag is down." He was interrupted by one of the officers, who said, "Our flag is not down," and Wigfall saw it where Peter Hart had replaced it. "Well, well," he said, "I want to stop this." Holding out his sword and handkerchief, he said to one of the officers, "Will you hoist this?" "No, sir," was the reply; "it is for you, General Wigfall, to stop them." "Will any of you hold this out of the embrasure?" he asked. No one offering the service, he said, "May I hold it there?" "If you wish to," was the cool reply. Wigfall sprang into the embrasure and waved the handkerchief several times, when a shot striking near him, he scampered away. He then begged some one else to hold it for him. At length consent was given to hoist a white flag over the ramparts, for the sole purpose of holding a conference with Major Anderson, who was sent for. Wigfall repeated his false story that he had come from Beauregard, and on assuring Anderson that the latter acceded to the major's terms—the evacuation of the fort on the 15th—that officer allowed the white flag to be hoisted, and Wigfall left. Seeing this, a deputation came from Beauregard, who informed the commander of the fort that Wigfall had not seen their chief in two days. Indignant because of the foul deception, Anderson declared the white flag should immediately come down, but he was persuaded to leave it until a conference could be held with Beauregard. Wigfall was a National Senator from Texas, and was one of the most insolent and boastful men on the floor of Congress. Soon after this ridiculous display of his mendacity and cowardice, he disappeared from public life, shorn of the confidence and respect of his more honorable associates. He was on Jefferson Davis's staff for awhile.

The conference with Beauregard resulted in an arrangement for the evacuation of Fort Sumter; and on Sunday, the 14th of April, 1861, the little garrison, with their private property, went on board a small steamboat that took them to the *Baltic* that lingered outside the bar, in which they were conveyed to New York. Major Anderson *evacuated* the fort, but did not *surrender* it; and he carried away with him the garrison flag, which, just four years afterward, tattered and torn, was again raised by the hands of that gallant officer (then a major-general) over all that remained of Fort Sumter—a heap of ruins.

Governor Pickens had watched the bombardment of the fort on Saturday with a telescope, and that evening he addressed the excited multitude in

Charleston, saying: "Thank God the war is open, and we will conquer or perish. . . . We have humbled the flag of the United States. I can here say to you, it is the first time in the history of this country that the Stars and Stripes have been humbled. That proud flag was never lowered before to any nation on the earth. It has triumphed for seventy years; but to-day, the 13th of April, it has been humbled, and humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina." On the following day, the holy Sabbath, the fall of Fort Sumter was commemorated in the churches of Charleston. The venerable bishop of the diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church was led by the rector of St. Philip's to the sacred desk, where he addressed a few words to the people. Speaking of the battle, he said, "Your boys were there, and mine were there, and it was right they should be there." Bishop Lynch, of the Roman Catholic church, spoke exultingly of the result of the conflict; and a *Te Deum* was chanted in commemoration of the event in the cathedral of St. John and St. Finbar, where he was officiating.

The loyal people of the free-labor States were loud in their praises of Major Anderson and his men for their gallant defence of the fort; and their gratitude was shown by substantial tokens. The citizens of Taunton, Massachusetts, and of Philadelphia, each presented Major Anderson with an elegant sword, richly ornamented. The citizens of New York presented a beautiful gold medal, and the authorities of that city gave him the freedom of the corporation in an elegant gold box. The Chamber of Commerce caused a series of medals to be struck in commemoration of the defence, to be presented to Major Anderson and his whole command; and from legislative bodies and other sources he received pleasing testimonials. Better than all, the President of the United States gave the major, by commission, the rank and pay of a brigadier-general in the army.

While hostilities against Fort Sumter were occurring, movements were made for the capture of strong Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island, commanding the entrance to the harbor of Pensacola, in Florida. Near it were two inferior forts (Fort Barrancas, built by the Spaniards, and Fort McRee); and near Pensacola was a navy-yard. The military works were in charge of Lieutenant Adam Slemmer, and the naval establishment was under Commodore Armstrong. Slemmer was informed that an attempt to seize the military works would be made as soon as the Florida politicians should declare the secession of that State; and he took measures accordingly. Perceiving it to be impossible to hold all the works with his small garrison, he, like Major Anderson, abandoned the weaker ones and transferred his people and supplies to the stronger Fort Pickens. That was on the 10th of Jan-

uary, 1861, the day on which the Florida Convention passed the Ordinance of Secession. On the same morning, about five hundred insurgents of Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi appeared at the gate of the navy-yard and demanded its surrender. Armstrong was powerless, for three-fourths of the sixty officers under his command were disloyal. Commander Farrand was actually among the insurgents who demanded the surrender, and Flag-Officer Renshaw immediately ordered the National standard to be pulled down. The post, with ordnance stores valued at \$156,000, passed into the hands of the authorities of Florida; and Forts Barrancas and McRee were taken possession of by the insurgents.

Lieutenant Slemmer, deprived of the promised aid of the naval establishment, was now left to his own resources. The fort was one of the strongest on the Gulf coast. There were fifty-four guns in position, and provisions for five months within it; but the garrison consisted of only eighty-one officers and men.

Two days after the seizure of the navy-yard near Pensacola, a demand was made by insurgent leaders for the surrender of Fort Pickens. Lieutenant Slemmer refused compliance. Three days later (January 15) Colonel W. H. Chase of Massachusetts, who was in command of all the insurgents in that region, obtained an interview with Slemmer, and tried to persuade him to "avoid bloodshed" by quietly surrendering the fort, saying in conclusion: "Consider this well, and take care that you will so act as to have no fearful recollections of a tragedy that you might have avoided; but rather to make the present moment one of the most glorious, because Christian-like, of your life." The wily serpent could not seduce the patriot, and Slemmer did make that a glorious moment of his life by refusing to give up the fort. On the 18th, another demand was made for the surrender of the fort and refused, and a siege of that stronghold was begun.

The number of insurgents at Pensacola rapidly increased, and the new Administration resolved to send relief to Fort Pickens. A small squadron was dispatched from New York for the purpose; and Lieutenant J. L. Worden of the navy was sent overland to Pensacola, with orders to Captain Adams, in command of some vessels off Fort Pickens, to throw reinforcements into that work immediately. Worden reached Pensacola on the 10th of April, where Colonel Braxton Bragg was in chief command of the Confederates. He had observed great excitement and preparations for war on his journey, and fearing arrest, Worden had made himself well acquainted with the contents of the despatches, and then tore them up. He frankly told Bragg that he was sent by his Government with orders to Captain Adams, and that they were not written, but oral. That officer gave the

lieutenant a pass for his destination. His message was timely delivered, for Bragg was on the point of attacking the fort. The reinforcements were thrown in, and the plan was foiled. Worden returned to Pensacola, and was permitted to take the cars for Montgomery, Alabama, when Bragg was informed by a spy that Fort Pickens had been reinforced. Mortified by his stupid blunder in allowing Worden to pass to and from the squadron, he violated truth and honor by telegraphing to the Confederate government at Montgomery that Worden had practiced falsehood and deception in gaining access to the squadron, and recommended his arrest. He was seized on the 15th of April and cast into the common jail, where he was treated with scorn by the Confederates, and kept a prisoner until November following, when he was exchanged. Worden had acted with the utmost frankness and the nicest sense of honor in the whole matter. He was the first prisoner-of-war held by the insurgents.

A few days after the reinforcement of Fort Pickens, two vessels, bearing several hundred troops and ample supplies, under Colonel Harvey Brown, appeared there, when Lieutenant Slemmer and his brave little band, worn down by fatigue and continued watchfulness, were relieved, and sent to Fort Hamilton, near New York, to rest. The grateful people honored them. The President gave Slemmer the commission of major, and afterward of brigadier; and the New York Chamber of Commerce also caused a series of bronze medals to be struck as presents to the commander and men of the brave little garrison. Reinforcements continued to be sent to Fort Pickens; and the number of the insurgents intended to assail it also increased, until, in May, they numbered over seven thousand. But events of very little importance occurred in that vicinity during the ensuing summer.

On Sunday morning, the 14th of April, 1861, the tidings of the dishonoring of the National standard in Charleston harbor, was telegraphed over the land, and created the wildest excitement everywhere, North and South. The loyal people were indignant; the disloyal people were jubilant. I was in New Orleans on that day. The sound of Sabbath-bells was mingled with the martial-music of fife and drum. Church-goers and troops in bright uniforms were seen in almost every street, the latter gathering for an immediate expedition against Fort Pickens. All faces beamed with gladness, and the pulpits overflowed with words of loyalty to the Southern Confederacy. At the North, the loyal hearts of the patriotic people beat vehemently with emotion; and everywhere the momentous question was asked, What next? It was not long unanswered, for within twenty-four hours after Major Anderson went out of Fort Sumter, the President of the United States issued a stirring call for seventy-five thousand troops to suppress the rising rebellion.



From a wartime photograph by Brady. By permission of the U. S. Government

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. DIX

In that proclamation (April 15, 1861) the President declared that for some time combinations in several of the States (which he named), "too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshals by law," had opposed the laws of the Republic; and therefore, by virtue of power vested in him, he called out the militia of the Union, to the number just mentioned, and appealed to the patriotism of the people in support of the measure. In the same proclamation he summoned the National Congress to meet at Washington city on the 4th day of July next ensuing, to consider the crisis. At the same time the Secretary of War sent a despatch to the governors of all the States excepting those mentioned in the President's proclamation, requesting each of them to cause to be detailed from the militia of his State the quota designated in a table which he appended, to serve as infantry or riflemen for the period of three months, unless sooner discharged.

This call of the President and the requisition of the Secretary of War were responded to with enthusiasm in the free-labor States; but in six of the eight slave-labor States not omitted in the call, they were treated with scorn. The exceptions were Delaware and Maryland. In the other slave-labor States, disloyal governors held the reins of power. Governor Letcher of Virginia replied: "I have only to say that the militia of this State will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view. Your object is to subjugate the Southern States, and a requisition made upon me for such an object will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate Civil War, and, having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the Administration has exhibited toward the South." Governor Ellis of North Carolina answered: "Your despatch is received, and if genuine, which its extraordinary character leads me to doubt, I have to say in reply, that I regard the levy of troops made by the Administration for the purpose of subjugating the States of the South, as in violation of the Constitution and a usurpation of power. I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina." Governor Magoffin of Kentucky answered: "Your despatch is received. I say emphatically that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States." Governor Harris of Tennessee said: "Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion; but fifty thousand, if necessary, for the defence of our rights or those of our Southern brethren." Governor Rector of Arkansas replied, "In answer to your requisition for troops from Arkansas, to subjugate the Southern States, I have to say that none will be furnished. The demand is only adding


insult to injury. The people of this Commonwealth are freemen, not slaves, and will defend, to the last extremity, their honor, their lives and property against Northern mendacity and usurpation." Governor Jackson of Missouri responded: "There can be, I apprehend, no doubt that these men are intended to make war on the seceded States. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolting in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."

It was reported from Montgomery that Mr. Davis and his compeers received Mr. Lincoln's call for troops "with derisive laughter." Mr. Hooper, the Secretary of the Montgomery Convention, in reply to the question of the agent of the Associated Press at Washington, "What is the feeling there?" said:

"Davis answers, rough and curt,
With Paixhan and petard,
Sumter is ours and nobody hurt,
We tender old Abe our Beau-regard."

And on the day after the call was made (April 16), the *Mobile Advertiser* contained the following advertisement in one of its inside business columns:

"75,000 COFFINS WANTED."

"PROPOSALS will be received to supply the Confederacy with 75,000 black coffins.  No proposals will be entertained coming north of Mason and Dixon's line.

"Direct to JEFF. DAVIS, Montgomery, Alabama."

This ghastly joke showed the temper of the political leaders in that region. But this feeling of boastfulness and levity was soon changed to seriousness, for there were indications of a wonderful uprising of the loyal people of the free-labor States in defence of the Union. Men, women, and children shared in the general enthusiasm. Loyalty was everywhere expressed, as if by preconcert, by the unfurling of the National flag. That banner was seen all over the land in attestation of devotion to the Union—in halls of justice and places of public worship. It was displayed from flag-staffs, balconies, windows, and even from the spires of churches and cathedrals. It was seen at all public gatherings, where cannon roared and orators spoke eloquently for the preservation of the Republic; and *red, white, and blue*—the colors of our flag in combination—were the hues of ornaments worn by women in attestation of their loyalty. And when it was evident to the people of the free-labor States that the National capital

was in danger, organized military bands were seen hurrying to the banks of the Potomac for the defence of Washington city.

The foolish boastings of the Southern newspapers were imitated by some of the members of the Northern press. "The nations of Europe," one said, "may rest assured that Jeff. Davis & Co. will be swinging from the battlements at Washington, at least by the 21st of July. We spit upon a later or longer-deferred justice." Another said: "Let us make quick work. The



HASTENING TO THE DEFENCE OF WASHINGTON CITY.

'rebellion,' as some people term it, is an unborn tadpole. Let us not fall into the delusion, noted by Hallam, of mistaking a 'local commotion' for revolution. A strong, active 'pull together' will do our work effectually in thirty days." And still another said: "No man of sense can for a moment doubt that this much-ado-about-nothing will end in a month. The Northern people are simply invincible. The rebels—a mere band of ragamuffins—will fly like chaff before the wind, on our approach." And a Chicago paper, with particular craziness of speech, said: "Let the East get out of the way; this is a war of the West. We can fight the battle, and successfully, within two or three months at the farthest. Illinois can whip the

South by herself. We insist on this matter being turned over to us. . . . The rebellion will be crushed out before the assemblage of Congress."

Neither section comprehended the earnestness and prowess of the other—the pluck that always distinguished the American people, North and South. Each, in its pride, felt a contempt for the other, each believing the other would not fight. This was a fatal misapprehension, and led to sad results. Each party appealed to the Almighty to witness the rectitude of its intentions, and each was quick to discover omens of Heaven's approval of its course. When, on the Sunday after the President's call for troops went forth, the first lesson in the morning service in the Protestant Episcopal churches of the land on that day contained this battle-call of the Prophet: "Proclaim ye this among the Gentiles: Prepare for war; wake up the mighty men; let all the men of war draw near; let them come up: beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears; let the weak say, I am strong," the loyal people of Boston, New York, and Cincinnati said: "See! how Revelation summons us to the conflict!" and the insurgents of Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans answered: "It is equally a call for us," adding: "See how specially we are promised victory in another Scripture lesson in the same church, which says; 'I will remove off from you the *Northern Army*, and will drive him into a land barren and desolate, with his face toward the East sea, and his hinder part toward the utmost sea. . . . Fear not, O land! be glad and rejoice; for the Lord will do great things.'"

Two days after the President's call was promulgated, the chief of the Southern Confederacy issued a proclamation, in which, after declaring that Mr. Lincoln had announced the intention of invading the "Confederate States" for "the purpose of capturing its fortresses and thereby subverting its independence, and subjecting the free people thereof to the dominion of a foreign power," he invited all persons who felt so disposed to enter upon a course of legalized piracy called "privateering," and to depredate on the commerce of the United States. This proclamation was immediately followed by another from the President, declaring his intention to employ a competent force to blockade all the ports which were claimed to belong to the Southern Confederacy; also warning all persons who should engage in privateering under the sanction of a commission from the insurgent chief, that they would be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy.

The "Congress of the Confederate States" had been summoned to meet at Montgomery on the 29th of April (1861), and a few days after the session began, an act was passed declaring that war existed between the

seven "seceded" States and the United States, and authorized Mr. Davis to employ the power of their section to "meet the war thus commenced, and to issue to private armed vessels commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, under the seal of the Confederate States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the Government of the United States, and of the citizens or inhabitants of the States and Territories thereof." They also offered a bounty of twenty dollars for each person who might be on board of an armed vessel of the United States that should be destroyed by a Confederate privateer—in other words, a reward for the destruction of men, women, and children. "Happily for the credit of humanity," says a historian of the war, "this act has no parallel on the statute-book of any civilized nation." Mr. Davis did not wait for this authority, but several days before the assembling of his "Congress," he issued commissions for privateering, signed by himself, and Robert Toombs, as secretary. With these hostile proclamations of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Davis, the great Conflict was fairly begun.

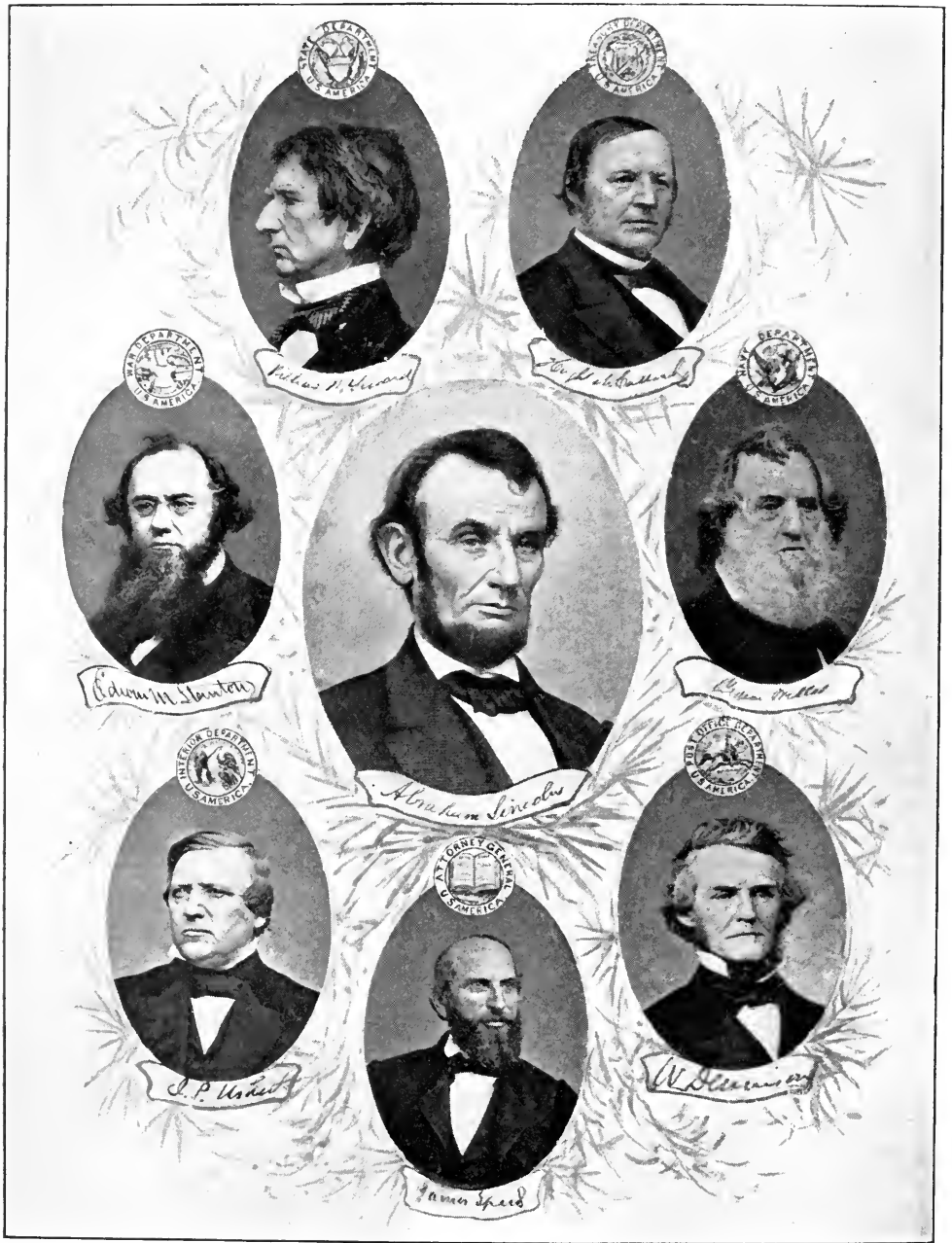


CHAPTER CXV.

The Virginia Convention—Union Sentiments Suppressed by Violence—Ordinance of Secession Passed—Bad Faith—Virginia Annexed to the Confederacy—The People Disfranchised—The National Capital To Be Seized—Davis's Professions—Poetic Comments on Them—Events at Harper's Ferry and Gosport Navy-Yard—Response to the Call for Troops—Massachusetts Sends Troops to Washington—Attack upon Them in Baltimore—Critical Situation of the Capital—The President and Maryland Secessionists—Prompt and Efficient Action of General Wool—Union Defence Committee—General Butler's Operations in Maryland—He Takes Possession of Baltimore—Events at the Capital—Preparations for the Struggle.

AT this time Virginia had passed through a fiery ordeal and lay prostrate, bound hand and foot by her disloyal sons, at the feet of the Southern Confederacy. A State Convention assembled at the middle of February, and remained in session more than two months. A large majority of the members were animated by a sincere love for the Union, especially those from the mountain districts in Western Virginia; and even so late as a fortnight before its adjournment, an Ordinance of Secession was defeated by a vote of eighty-nine against forty-five. Yet the conspirators persevered with hope, for they saw one after another of weak Union members converted by their sophistry.

The crisis was reached when Edmund Ruffin fired his gun at Fort Sumter. "That gun," said a telegraphic despatch from Charleston, "will do more in the cause of secession in Virginia than volumes of stump speeches." So it did. It set bells ringing, and cannon thundering in the Virginia capital, and produced the wildest excitement in and out of the Convention. "The war has begun; what will Virginia do?" asked Governor Pickens, by telegraph. Governor Letcher replied, "The Convention will determine." That determination was speedily made. When, on Monday the 15th of April, the President's call for troops to suppress the rising rebellion was read in the Convention, that body was shaken by a fierce tempest of contending passions. Reason and judgment fled, and the stoutest Union men bent before the storm like reeds in a gale. Yet when the Convention adjourned that evening, and the question was pending, Shall Virginia secede at once? there was a strong majority in favor of Union.



PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET

The conspirators were now desperate. They perceived that the success of their grand scheme, the seizure of the National capital, depended upon the action of Virginia at that crisis. Richmond was then in the hands of an excited populace ready to do the bidding of the leading politicians, and the latter resolved to act with a high hand. They perceived that the absence of ten Union members from the Convention would give a majority for secession. Accordingly ten of them were waited upon by the conspirators on that evening, and informed that they must choose between three modes of action, namely, to vote for secession, absent themselves, or be hanged. They saw that resistance to these desperate men would be vain, and they absented themselves. These violent proceedings awed other Union men in the Convention, and on Wednesday the 17th of April, 1861, an Ordinance of Secession was adopted. Unlike the conventions of other "seceding" States, it referred the Ordinance to the people to vote on at a future day. But this show of respect for the popular will was not sincere. A despatch was immediately sent to Jefferson Davis, telling him Virginia was "out of the Union"; and within twenty-four hours after the passage of the Ordinance, and while it was yet under cover of an injunction of secrecy, Governor Letcher set in motion expeditions to capture the Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and the Navy-yard at Gosport, opposite Norfolk, preparatory to the seizure of the National capital. Davis sent his lieutenant, Alexander H. Stephens, from Montgomery to Richmond, to urge the Convention to violate its faith pledged to the people, and to formally annex Virginia to the Confederacy without their consent. This was done within a week after the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, and a month before the day appointed for the people to vote upon it.

Stephens arrived in Richmond on the evening of the 23d of April. The Convention appointed a commission, with ex-President Tyler at its head, to treat with this representative of the "Confederacy" for the annexation of Virginia to that league. The act was accomplished the next day. The "treaty" provided that "the whole military force and military operations" of Virginia, "offensive and defensive, in the impending conflict with the United States," should be under the chief control of Jefferson Davis. Then they adopted and ratified the "Provisional Constitution of the Confederacy;" appointed delegates to the "Confederate Congress;" authorized the banks of the State to suspend specie payments; made provision for the establishment of a navy for Virginia; made other provisions for waging war on the Union, and invited the "government at Montgomery" to make Richmond its future seat. All this was done in spite of the known will of the people; and when the day approached for them to express that will by

the ballot, they found themselves tied hand and foot by an inexorable despotism. James M. Mason, one of the most active of the Virginia conspirators, issued a manifesto, in which he declared his State to be out of the old Union; that a rejection of the Ordinance of Secession would be a violation of a sacred pledge given to the Confederacy by the politicians; and said, concerning those who could not conscientiously vote to separate Virginia from the Union, "Honor and duty alike require that they should not vote on the question; and if they retain such opinions, *they must leave the State.*" Submission or banishment was the alternative. Mason simply repeated the sentiments of Jefferson Davis in another form: "All who oppose us shall smell Southern powder, and feel Southern steel."

When the vote was finally taken on the 23d of May, it was in the face of bayonets. Terror reigned all over Eastern Virginia. Unionists were compelled to fly for their lives before the instruments of the civil and military power at Richmond, for the "Confederate government" was then seated there. By these means the enemies of the Union were enabled to report a majority of over one hundred thousand votes of Virginians in favor of secession, the vote being given by the voice and not by the secret ballot. Then the governor of South Carolina, with selfish complacency, said to his people: "You may plant your seed in peace, for Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of the battle." And so she did much of the time. Her politicians offered her back to the burden which the Gulf States had rolled from their own shoulders, and a most grievous one it was.

Prodigious efforts were now made for the seizure of the National capital. On his journey to Richmond, Alex. H. Stephens had harangued the people at various points, and everywhere raised the cry, "On to Washington!" That cry was already resounding throughout the slave-labor States. Troops were marshaling for the service, in Virginia; and already Carolina soldiers were treading its soil. The Southern press, everywhere, urged the measure with the greatest vehemence. On the day when Stephens arrived in Richmond, one of the newspapers of that city said: "There never was half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject that is now manifested to take Washington and drive from it every Black Republican who is a dweller there. From the mountain tops and valleys to the shores of the sea, there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington city, at all and every human hazard." Yet in the face of the universal chorus, "On to Washington!" Mr. Jefferson Davis, president of the Southern Confederacy, speaking more to Europe than to his people, said to his congress at Montgomery: "We profess solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice save that of honor."

In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the States with which we have lately confederated. *All we ask is to be let alone*—those who never held power over us, should not now attempt our subjugation by arms.” A quaint writer of the day, thus commented on the assertion of Mr. Davis, “All we ask is to be let alone:”

“As vonce I walked by a dismal swamp,
 There sot an old cove in the dark and damp,
 And at everybody as pass’d that road
 A stick or a stone that old cove throw’d;
 And venever he flung his stick or his stone,
 He’d set up a song of ‘Let me alone.’
 ‘Let me alone, for I love to shy
 These bits of things at the passers by;
 Let me alone, for I’ve got your tin,
 And lots of other traps snugly in;
 Let me alone—I am rigging a boat
 To grab votever you’ve got afloat;
 In a week or so I expects to come
 And turn you out of your ‘ouse and ‘ome.
 I’m a quiet old cove,’ says he with a groan,
 ‘All I axes is, *Let me alone!*’”

Harper’s Ferry, at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, where their combined waters flow through the Blue Ridge, in Virginia, had been for years the seat of an Armory and Arsenal of the United States, where almost ninety thousand muskets were usually stored. At the time we are considering, the post was in charge of Lieutenant Roger Jones, with some dismounted dragoons and a few other soldiers. Warned of impending danger, Jones was vigilant; and he prepared for any sudden emergency by laying a train of gunpowder for the destruction of the Government property, if necessary. When, late in the evening of the 18th of April, about two thousand Virginia militia were within a mile of the post and were pressing on to seize it, Jones fired his trains, and in a few minutes the Government buildings were all in flames, and the little garrison of forty men were crossing the covered railway bridge into Maryland, in a successful flight to Carlisle Barracks, in Pennsylvania. The insurgents were foiled in their attempt to secure a large quantity of fire-arms; but they seized Harper’s Ferry as an important point for future hostile operations. In May, full eight thousand Confederate troops were there.

The expedition against the Navy-yard at Gosport was more successful. It was situated on the Elizabeth River, opposite Norfolk, and at that time contained two thousand pieces of heavy cannon fit for service, and a vast

amount of munitions of war, naval stores, and materials for ship-building. In the waters near and on the stocks were several vessels-of-war, which the Secessionists attempted to secure by sinking obstructions in the river below to prevent their sailing out. This was done on the day before the Virginia Ordinance of Secession was adopted. The post was in command of Commodore C. S. McCauley, who, soothed and deceived by false professions of loyalty by the officers of Southern birth under him, delayed taking action to protect the Navy-yard and the vessels until it was too late. When the action of the officers at Pensacola was known, these men said to the Commodore, "You have no Pensacola officers here; we will never desert you; we will stand by you until the last, even to the death;" yet these men all resigned when the Virginia Ordinance of Secession was passed, abandoned their flag, and joined the forces under General Taliaferro, commander of the Virginia troops in that region, who arrived at Norfolk on the evening of the 18th of April to attempt the seizure of the naval station. Believing an immediate effort would be made to seize the vessels, McCauley ordered them to be scuttled and sunk, and this was done. At that critical moment, Captain Paulding of the navy arrived in the *Pawnee* as the successor of McCauley, and perceiving all the vessels but the *Cumberland*, beyond recovery, he ordered them and all the public property at the Navy-yard to be burned or otherwise destroyed. This destruction was only partially accomplished. About seven million dollars worth of property disappeared; but the insurgents gained a vast number of heavy guns with which they waged war afterward. They also saved some of the vessels. Among the latter was the *Merrimac*, which was afterward converted by the Confederates into a powerful iron-clad vessel. This important post was held by the insurgents until early in May the following year, when it was recovered by General Wool.

So secretly had the Confederates prepared for the seizure of the National capital, that the sudden development of their strength was amazing. The Government was made painfully aware that its call for troops had not been made an hour too soon. There was a general impression that Washington city was to be the first point of serious attack, and toward it vast numbers of armed men eagerly pressed to the protection of the President, his cabinet, the Government archives, and the Capitol. Within three days after the call, full one hundred thousand young men had dropped their implements of labor to prepare for war.

Those of Massachusetts were first ready. Early in the year Governor Andrew had put the militia of the State on a sort of war footing, and five thousand volunteers were drilled in armories. He invited the other New

England States to do likewise, and they complied, in a degree. When, on the day the President called for seventy-five thousand men, Senator Henry Wilson telegraphed to Governor Andrew to send twenty companies immediately to Washington, they were ready. A few hours later the requisition of the Secretary of War reached the governor, and before sunset four regiments at different points were ordered to muster on Boston Common. They were all there the next day, in charge of Brigadier-General Benjamin F. Butler; and it was arranged for the Sixth Regiment, Colonel Jones of Lowell, to go forward at once to Washington, through New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

On the day (April 18) when the insurgents expected to seize the arms at Harper's Ferry, five companies of Pennsylvanians passed through Baltimore for the capital. They were slightly attacked by the mob in that city. They were the first of the loyal troops to reach Washington city, and were quartered in the Capitol. The Secessionists of Maryland were then active, and were determined to place their State as a barrier across the pathway of troops from the North and East. Their governor (Hicks) was a loyal man, but the mayor of Baltimore was not, and the chief of police (Kane) was an ally of the disloyal leaders. When the Pennsylvanians had passed through the city, rumors came that a regiment from Massachusetts were approaching; and when, on the following day (April 19, 1861), the latter were marching from one railway station to another, in Baltimore, they were violently assailed with missiles of every sort by an excited populace numbering full ten thousand persons. The mayor, alarmed at the furious whirlwind that his political friends had raised, vainly attempted to control it. With a large body of the police, most of whom did not share in the treason of their chief (Kane), he tried to quell the disturbance, but his power was inoperative. The fight in the streets was severe. Three of the troops (the Sixth Massachusetts) were killed or mortally wounded, and in defence of their own lives they slew nine citizens of Baltimore. This tragedy produced intense excitement all over the country. There the first blood was shed in the terrible conflict that ensued. For a moment the indignation of the loyal people was so hot, that the city seemed doomed to swift destruction. A cry went forth, "Lay it in ashes!" and Bayard Taylor wrote:

"Bow down in haste thy guilty head!
God's wrath is swift and sure;
The sky with gathering bolts is red.
Cleanse from thy skirts the slaughter shed
Or make thyself an ashen bed,
O Baltimore!"

The troops from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts were not too soon in the National capital; for all communication between Washington and the North, by railway and telegraph, was cut off for a week after the affray in Baltimore. On the night of the riot the bridges of the railway running northward from that city were burned, and the telegraph wires were cut,



ATTACK ON MASSACHUSETTS TROOPS IN BALTIMORE.

under the sanction of its mayor and chief of police; and the President of the United States and other officers of government, civil and military, at the capital, were virtually prisoners in the hands of the enemies of their country. The capital was swarming with them; and these, with the Minute-men of Maryland, were barely restrained from violence by the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts soldiers in Washington.

The Maryland Secessionists now declared that no more troops should

pass through that State to Washington; and the mayor of Baltimore, with the sanction of Governor Hicks, sent a committee to President Lincoln to tell him of this decision. The President received them courteously, and yielded much for the sake of peace, proposing to have the troops go by water to Annapolis, and thence march through the sparsely settled country to the capital. The Secessionists would not yield an iota of their demand that "no United States soldier should tread the soil of Maryland." Governor Hicks, a sincere Unionist, but not in robust bodily health and almost seventy years of age, was overborne by the violent Secessionists in official position, and was made their passive instrument in some degree. He was induced to make the degrading proposition that Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, "be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties in our country." In the name of the President, Mr. Seward reminded the governor that when the capital was in danger in 1814, as it was now, his State gladly welcomed the United States troops everywhere on its soil, for the defence of Washington. This mildly drawn but stinging rebuke of the chief magistrate of a State that professed to be a member of the Union, gave the Secessionists notice that no degrading propositions would, for a moment, be entertained by the Government.

Still another delegation went from Baltimore to the President to give him advice in the interest of the Secessionists. They represented the theological element of Baltimore society, and were led by Rev. Dr. Fuller of the Baptist Church. When that gentleman assured the President that he might secure peace by recognizing the independence of the "seceded" States; that they would never be a part of the Union again, and expressed a hope that no more troops would be allowed to pass through Maryland, the President listened patiently, and then said significantly: "I *must* have troops for the defence of the capital. The Carolinians are now marching across Virginia to seize the capital, and hang me. What am I to do? I *must* have troops, I say; and as they can neither crawl under Maryland nor fly over it, they must come across it." The deputation returned to Baltimore, and the Secessionists of that city never afterward gave suggestions or advice to President Lincoln.

The critical situation of the capital created intense anxiety throughout the free-labor States. All communication between Washington and the rest of the world was cut off. General Scott could not send an order anywhere. What was to be done? That question was promptly answered by the veteran General John E. Wool. He hastened from his headquarters in Troy, New York, to the presence of the governor of the State (Morgan) at Albany, and they went immediately to the city of New York. Wool was

the commander of the Eastern Department of the Army, which included the whole country eastward of the Mississippi River. He and the governor held a conference with the "Union Defence Committee," composed of some of the leading citizens of New York, with General John A. Dix as chairman and William M. Evarts as secretary. A plan of action for the relief of the capital was formed and put into immediate operation. Wool, unable to communicate with the General-in-Chief (Scott), assumed the responsibility of ordering the movements of troops, providing for the safety of Fortress Monroe, and sending forward immediate military relief and supplies for the menaced capital. The governors of a dozen States applied to him for relief and munitions of war, as he was the highest military authority then accessible; and he assisted in arming no less than nine States. By his prodigious and judicious labors in connection with the liberal "Union Defence Committee" of New York, the *capital was saved*.

The destruction of bridges north of Baltimore prevented troops from passing that way. So the Seventh Regiment of New York, Colonel Ellsworth's New York Fire Zouaves and some Massachusetts troops, under General B. F. Butler, proceeded to Annapolis by water, and saved the frigate *Constitution* there, which was about to be seized by the Secessionists. Butler took possession of the railway between Annapolis and Washington, and first opened communication with the capital; and on the 25th of April he took possession of the Relay House, nine miles from Baltimore, where the Baltimore and Ohio railway turns toward Harper's Ferry. While he was there, over nine hundred men, with a battery, under Colonel F. E. Patterson, sailed from Philadelphia and landed near Fort McHenry, at Baltimore, in the presence of the mayor of the city, Chief of Police Kane and many of his force, and a vast crowd of excited citizens. Latent Unionism in Maryland was then astir, and shouts of welcome greeted the Pennsylvanians. That was on the 9th of May—three weeks after the attack on the Massachusetts troops in the streets of Baltimore. These were the first troops that had passed through since, and were the pioneers of tens of thousands of Union soldiers who streamed through that city during the war that ensued. Though the Maryland Legislature shielded, by special law, the leaders in the murderous assault on the troops on the 19th of April, from punishment, no such violence was ever attempted afterward.

General Scott had planned a ponderous expedition for seizing and holding Baltimore. It was to consist of twelve thousand men divided into four columns, who were to approach that city from four different points at the same time. General Butler saw that a swifter movement was necessary to accomplish that end. He obtained permission of General Scott to attempt

the seizure of some arms and ammunition said to be concealed in Baltimore, and to arrest some Secessionists there. Baltimore was in the Department of Annapolis, of which Butler was commander, and the permission implied the use of troops. Having promised Colonel Jones, of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, that his men should again march through Baltimore, he summoned that regiment from the capital to the Relay House. With these and a few other troops, and two pieces of artillery well manned, in all a little more than a thousand men, he entered cars headed toward Harper's Ferry. They ran up the road a short distance, and then backed slowly past the Relay House and into Baltimore early in the evening, just as a heavy thunderstorm burst upon the city. Few persons were abroad, and the citizens were ignorant of this portentous arrival. The mayor was soon afterward apprised of it, and sent a note to General Butler inquiring what he meant by thus threatening the peace of the city by the presence of a large body of troops.

When the mayor's message arrived at the station, Butler and his men had disappeared in the gloom. Well piloted, they marched to Federal Hill, an eminence that commanded the city. The rain fell copiously; the rumble of the cannon-wheels was mingled with that of the thunder, and was mistaken for it, and the lightning played around the points of their bayonets. In his wet clothing, at near midnight, General Butler sat down and wrote a proclamation to the citizens of Baltimore, assuring all peaceable citizens full protection, and intimating that a much larger force was at hand to support the Government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. This proclamation (dated May 14, 1861) was published in a city paper (the *Clipper*) the next morning, and gave the people of Baltimore the first intimation that their town was in the actual possession of National troops. In a single night, a little more than a thousand men had accomplished, under an audacious leader, what General Scott proposed to do with twelve thousand men in an indefinite time. The jealous pride of the General-in-Chief was offended by the superior action of a subordinate. He reproved him for acting without orders, and demanded his removal from the Department. The good-natured President did remove Butler, but to a more extended field of operations, with a higher commission. From that time, troops were enabled to pass freely through Baltimore from the North; and at the middle of May, the National capital was so well protected that it was regarded as absolutely safe from capture by the insurgents.

The contest had now assumed the dignity of Civil War. The Confederates were putting forth all their energies to meet the forces called to the field by the President of the Republic. Davis summoned his "congress," as

we have observed, to meet at Montgomery on the 29th of April, to take measures for prosecuting the war, offensive and defensive. At that time the Confederates had seized property belonging to the United States valued at \$40,000,000, and had forty thousand armed men in the field, more than one-half of whom were then in Virginia, and forming an irregular line from Norfolk to Harper's Ferry. At the beginning of May they had sent emissaries abroad to seek recognition and aid from foreign governments. They had extinguished the lamps of the light-houses, one hundred and thirty-three in number, all along the coasts of the Republic, from Hampton Roads to the Rio Grande, and had commissioned numerous "privateers" to prey upon the commerce of the United States. Encouraged by their success at Charleston, they were then besieging Fort Pickens, as we have observed, and were using prodigious exertions to obtain possession of the National capital.

The magnitude of the disaffection to the National Government was now more clearly perceived; and the President, satisfied that the number of militia called for would not be adequate for the required service against the wide-spreading rebellion, issued a proclamation on the 3d of May, calling for sixty-four thousand volunteers for the army, and eighteen thousand for the navy, to "serve during the war." Fortress Monroe, a very important fort in Southeastern Virginia, and Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, were reinforced; and the blockade of the Southern ports, from which "privateers" were preparing to sail, was proclaimed. Washington city was made the general rendezvous of all troops raised eastward of the Alleghany mountains. These came flocking thither by thousands, and were quartered in the Patent-Office building and other edifices, and the Capitol was made a vast citadel. Its legislative halls, the rotunda, and other rooms were filled with soldiery; so also was the great East Room in the President's house. The basements of the Capitol were converted into store-rooms for barrels of flour, beef and pork, and other commissary stores. The vaults under the broad terrace on its western front were converted into bakeries, where sixteen thousand loaves of bread were baked each day.

Before the summer of 1861 had fairly begun, Washington was an immense garrisoned town, and strong fortifications were growing upon the hills that surround it. The States westward of the Alleghanies were also pouring out their thousands of armed men, who were gathered at appointed rendezvous; and every department of the National Government was active in preparation for the great conflict of mighty hosts that were to fight, one party for freedom and the other for slavery.



CHAPTER CXVI.

Defection of Colonel Lee—Temptation and Fall—First Invasion of Virginia—Death of Colonel Ellsworth—Blockade of the Potomac—Engagement at Sewall's Point—Loyalty in Western Virginia—Action of the Secessionists—Conventions—Creation and Admission of a New State—Troops from Beyond the Ohio—The First Battle on Land—Attitude of the Border States—Kentucky Unionism—Events in Missouri—General Lyon—The Governor of Missouri Raises the Standard of Revolt—Movements in Tennessee—Pillow and Polk—Change in the Confederate Seat of Government—Jefferson Davis in Virginia—His Reception in Richmond.

THE Confederates acquired much strength at the beginning, by the defection of Colonel Robert E. Lee, an accomplished engineer officer in the National army, and one who was greatly beloved and thoroughly trusted by the General-in-Chief, Scott. Temptation assailed him in the form of an offer of the supreme command of the military and naval forces of his native State, Virginia. It was rendered more potent by the doctrine of State-supremacy; and it so weakened his patriotism that he yielded to the tempter. And when the Convention of Virginia passed an Ordinance of Secession, he resigned his commission, deserted his flag, and took up arms against his Government, saying, in the common language of men of the State-supremacy school: "I must go with my State." He had lingered in Washington city for a week after the evacuation of Fort Sumter; and received from General Scott, without giving a hint of his secret determination, all information possible from that confiding friend, concerning the plans and resources of the Government, to be employed in suppressing the rebellion. With this precious treasury of important knowledge, Lee hastened to Richmond, and was cordially received there, with marks of great distinction, by the vice-president of the Confederacy and officers of his State, and was informed that the supreme command of the forces of the Commonwealth was committed to his care.

No man had stronger inducements to be a loyal and patriotic citizen than Robert E. Lee. His associations with the founders of the Republic he tried to destroy, were very strong. He was a son of that "Lowland Beauty" who was the object of Washington's first love. His father was

glorious "Legion Harry" of the Revolution, whose sword had been gallantly used in gaining the independence of the American people; and he had led an army to crush an insurrection. Colonel Lee's wife was a great-granddaughter of Mrs. Washington. And his beautiful home, called Arlington, near Washington city, inherited from the adopted son of Washington, was filled with plate, china and furniture, that had been used by the beloved Patriot at Mount Vernon. But these considerations, so calculated to expand the generous soul with National pride and make the possession of citizenship of a great nation a cherished honor and privilege, seem to have had no influence with Colonel Lee. The narrow political creed of his class of thinkers, taught no broader doctrines of citizenship than the duty of allegiance to a petty State whose flag is utterly unknown beyond our shores—an insignificant portion of a great Republic whose flag is honored and respected on every sea and in every port of the civilized world. Acting upon these narrow views, Colonel Lee said, "I must go with my State;" and going, he took with him precious information which enabled him to make valuable suggestions to the insurgents concerning the best methods for seizing the National capital. In time Colonel Lee became the general-in-chief of all the armies in rebellion against his Government, at whose expense he had been educated in the art of war.

Colonel Lee advised the Virginians to erect a battery of heavy guns on Arlington Heights, not far from his own home, which would command the cities of Washington and Georgetown. They were about to follow this advice, when, late in May, their plans were frustrated by the General-in-Chief, who sent National troops across the Potomac to the Virginia shore by way of the Long Bridge at Washington, and the Aqueduct Bridge at Georgetown, to take possession of Alexandria and Arlington Heights. Ellsworth's New York Fire Zouaves went to Alexandria in two schooners, at the



ROBERT E. LEE.

same time, to be assisted by a third column that crossed the river at the Long Bridge.

The troops that first passed the Long Bridge constructed a battery at the Virginia end of it, which they named Fort Runyon, in compliment to General Runyon of New Jersey, who was in command of a part of them. The troops that passed Aqueduct Bridge were led by General Irwin McDowell; and upon the spot where Lee proposed to erect a battery of siege-guns, to destroy the capital, the troops erected a redoubt to defend it, which they named Fort Corcoran, in compliment to the commander of an Irish regiment among them. These were the first redoubts constructed by the National troops in the Civil War; and this was the initial movement of the Government forces in opening the first campaigns of that war. It occurred on the morning of the 24th of May, 1861.



DEATH OF COL. ELLSWORTH.]

The troops sent by land and water reached Alexandria about the same time, and took possession of the city. They seized the Orange and Alexandria railway station and much rolling stock, with some Virginia cavalry who were guarding it. The Secessionists in the city were defiant; and one of them, the keeper of a tavern, persisted in flying the Confederate flag over his house. The impetuous young Ellsworth proceeded to pull it down with his own hands, when the proprietor shot him dead, and was killed, in turn, by one of the Zouaves. This tragedy caused great bitterness in both sections of the country for a time.

Meanwhile the Confederates had erected batteries on the Virginia shores of the Potomac River to obstruct its navigation by National vessels. They

had also cast up redoubts near Hampton Roads, not far from Fortress Monroe. Captain J. H. Ward was sent to the Roads with a flotilla of armed vessels. The insurgents then possessed Norfolk, and had erected a battery on Sewall's Point at the mouth of the Elizabeth River, where, on the morning of the 20th of May, when Ward's vessels appeared in the Roads, there were about two thousand Confederate soldiers. Ward opened the guns of his flag-ship (the *Freeborn*) upon the battery. It was soon silenced, and the insurgents were dispersed. Then Ward proceeded immediately up the Potomac toward Washington, after reporting to Commodore Stringham, and patrolled that important stream. At Aquia Creek, about sixty miles below Washington, he encountered some heavy batteries, and a sharp but indecisive engagement ensued on the first of June. Soon afterward, in an attack upon other batteries at Matthias's Point, the flotilla was repulsed, and Captain Ward was killed. At that place and vicinity the Confederates established batteries which defied the National vessels on those waters; and for many months, the Potomac, as a highway for supplies for the army near Washington, was effectively blockaded by them.

The Union element in the Virginia Secession Convention was chiefly from Western Virginia, a mountain district, where the slave-labor system had not been profitable; and the loyalty of the people there to the old flag, gave the Virginia conspirators much uneasiness. At the very beginning the Confederates perceived the importance of holding possession of that region, and so control the Baltimore and Ohio Railway that traversed it, and connected Maryland with the teeming West. For that purpose troops were sent from Richmond to restrain the active patriotism of the people, when the latter flew to arms under the leadership of Colonel B. F. Kelley, a native of New Hampshire, who set up his standard near Wheeling, where an important political movement had already taken place.

Before the adjournment of the Convention at Richmond the inhabitants of Western Virginia perceived the necessity of making a bold stand for the Union and their own independence of the oligarchy that ruled the State in the interests of the slaveholders. This first meeting was held at Clarksburg, on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, on the 22d of April. John S. Carlisle, a member of the Convention then sitting at Richmond, offered a resolution at that meeting (which was adopted) calling a Convention of delegates at Wheeling on the 13th of May. Similar meetings were held at other places. One at Kingswood, Preston county, declared that the separation of Western from Eastern Virginia was essential to the maintenance of their liberties. They also resolved to elect a representative to sit in the National Congress; and at a mass Convention held at Wheeling on

the 5th of May, it was resolved to sever all political connection with the conspirators at Richmond.

The Convention of delegates met at Wheeling on the 13th of May. The National flag was unfurled over the Custom-House there with appropriate demonstrations of loyalty; and in the Convention the chief topic of discussion was the division of the State and the formation of a new Commonwealth composed of forty or fifty counties of the mountain region. It was asserted in the Convention that the slave oligarchy eastward of the mountains, and in all the tide-water counties, wielded the political power of the State, and used it for the promotion of their great interest, in the levying of taxes, and in lightening their own burdens at the expense of the labor and thrift of the citizens of West Virginia. These considerations, and an innate love for the Union, produced such unanimity of sentiment that the labors of the secret emissaries of the conspirators and of the open service of recruiting officers were almost fruitless in Western Virginia. The Convention itself was a unit in feeling and purpose; but it was too informal in its character to take decisive action upon the momentous question of a division of the State. So, after condemning the Ordinance of Secession, a resolution was adopted, calling a Provisional Convention, at the same place, on the 11th of June, unless the people should vote adversely to that Ordinance, at the appointed time.

The proceedings at Wheeling alarmed the conspirators. They expected an immediate revolt in that region; and Governor Letcher ordered Colonel Porterfield, who was in command of State troops at Grafton, to seize and carry away the arms at Wheeling belonging to the United States, and to use them in arming such men as might rally around his flag. He also told Porterfield that it was "advisable to cut off telegraphic communication between Wheeling and Washington, so that the disaffected at the former place could not communicate with their allies at headquarters." Letcher added: "If troops from Ohio or Pennsylvania shall be attempted to be passed on the railroads, do not hesitate to obstruct their passage by all means in your power, even to the destruction of the road and bridge."

As we have observed, the people in Eastern Virginia, under the pressure of the bayonet, ratified the Ordinance of Secession. The Provisional Convention assembled at Wheeling on the appointed day, when about forty counties were represented. The meeting was held in the Custom-House, with Arthur Boreman president, and G. L. Cranmer secretary. A Bill of Rights, reported by J. S. Carlisle, was adopted; all allegiance to the Southern Confederacy was denied; a resolution was passed declaring the determination of the inhabitants of Virginia never to submit to the Ordinance of

Secession, but to maintain the rights of the Commonwealth in the Union; and all citizens who had taken up arms against the National Government were exhorted to lay them down and return to their allegiance. An Ordinance was reported and adopted vacating all the offices in the State held by State officers acting in hostility to the General Government, and also providing for a Provisional government and the election of officers for a period of six months; also requiring all officers of the State, counties and towns, to take an oath of allegiance to the National Government. This movement, which formally deposed Governor Letcher and all State officers in rebellion against the National Government, but not a secession from the State, was purely revolutionary. The convention adopted a declaration of independence of the old government of Virginia, which was signed by fifty-six members; and on the 19th a Provisional government was organized by the choice of Francis H. Pierrepont, Provisional governor of the State; Daniel Polsley, lieutenant-governor, and an Executive Council of five members. On the following day (June 20, 1861) the necessity of ultimate separation from Eastern Virginia was favored by resolution adopted by unanimous vote.

Mr. Pierrepont was a bold and energetic man. He at once notified the President of the United States that an insurrection in Virginia was too formidable to be suppressed by local power, and called for aid from the National Government to suppress it. He organized the militia, and borrowed money for the public service on the pledge of his own private fortune. He upheld the "restored government" against the extraordinary efforts of the conspirators at Richmond to crush the new organization and enslave the loyal people. A Legislature was chosen, and at its session, begun at Wheeling on the 1st of July, John S. Carlisle and Waitman G. Willie were chosen to represent the restored Commonwealth in the National Congress. Finally a convention of delegates, held in November, 1861, adopted a new State constitution, in which slavery was prohibited; and on 3d of May following the people who voted upon it, ratified it.

The Legislature, at a called session, approved of a division of the State, and the establishment of a new Commonwealth. All the legal requirements having been complied with, the western counties, by Act of Congress, organized under a constitution, were admitted into the Union under the title of the State of *West Virginia*, on the 20th of June, 1863; and Arthur J. Boreman was chosen governor of the new Commonwealth. At mid-summer, Old Virginia presented the curious political spectacle of Letcher, at Richmond, claiming authority over the *whole* State; Pierrepont, at Alexandria, claiming authority over the whole old State excepting West Virginia,

and Boreman, at Wheeling, the chief executive of the new Commonwealth, as legal governor.

The Unionists of Western Virginia needed help from the beginning; for the regiment that gathered around Colonel Kelley at Wheeling, though full eleven hundred strong, were too few to withstand the Confederate forces sent against them. Already General George B. McClellan, who had been called to the command of the Ohio troops, was assigned to the head of the Department of the Ohio, which included Western Virginia. With Ohio and Indiana troops he crossed the Ohio River. These, with Kelly's Virginians, moved on Grafton and drove Porterfield and his Confederates to Philippi, closely pursued by his foes. After a sharp engagement at the latter place, on the 2d of June, the Confederates were dispersed, and, for awhile, matters were quiet in that region. Kelley was severely wounded in the battle at Philippi. That was the first conflict on land after the President's call for troops.

While events in Western Virginia were assuming the character of open warfare between armed forces, others of great importance were occurring westward of the Alleghany Mountains; for, so early as the beginning of June, civil war had begun wherever the system of slavery prevailed. Political leaders in the "Border States"—slave-labor States bordering on free-labor States—took a position which finally brought great distress upon the inhabitants of those Commonwealths. A large class of these leaders professed to be friends of the Union, but *conditionally*. They would be its friends so long as the National Government did not interfere with slavery, nor "attempt to bring back the seceded States;" in other words, they were friends of the Republic so long as its Government did not raise a finger for the salvation of its life. When the President's call for troops to suppress the rebellion appeared, the *Louisville Journal*, the organ of the professed Unionists of Kentucky, hastened to say: "We are struck with mingled amazement and indignation. The policy announced in the proclamation deserves the unqualified condemnation of every American citizen. It is unworthy, not merely of a statesman, but of a man. It is a policy utterly hair-brained and ruinous. If Mr. Lincoln contemplated this policy in his inaugural address, he is a guilty dissembler; if he conceived it under the excitement aroused by the seizure of Fort Sumter, he is a guilty Hotspur. In either case, he is miserably unfit for the exalted position in which the enemies of the country have placed him. Let the people instantly take him and his administration into their own hands, if they would rescue the land from bloodshed, and the Union from sudden and irretrievable destruction." And at a large "Union meeting" at Louisville, over which James Guthrie and other leading men in the State held control, it was resolved

that "Kentucky reserved to herself the right to choose her own position; and that, while her natural sympathies are with those who have a common interest in the protection of Slavery, she still acknowledges her loyalty and fealty to the Government of the United States, which she will cheerfully render *until that Government becomes aggressive, tyrannical, and regardless of our rights in slave property.*" They declared that the States were peers of the National Government; and gave the world to understand that the latter should not be allowed to "use sanguinary or coercive" measures to "bring back the seceded States." The "Kentucky State Guard," which the governor had organized for the benefit of the Secessionists, were commended by this Union meeting as "the bulwark of the safety of the Commonwealth," and its members were enjoined to remember that they were "pledged equally" to fidelity to the United States and Kentucky.

The "Guard" was placed under the command of Captain Simon B. Buckner of the National army, who was then evidently in the secret service of the Confederacy, for he used his position effectively in seducing large numbers of the members of the "Guard" from their allegiance to the old flag, and sending them as recruits to the Confederate armies. It was not long before he led a large portion of them into the camp of the enemy, and he became a Confederate major-general. Then the *Louisville Journal*, that had so savagely condemned the President, more savagely assailed Buckner with curses, saying: "Away with your pledges and assurances—with your protestations, apologies and proclamations—at once and altogether! Away, parricide! Away, and do penance forever!—be shriven or slain—away! You have less palliation than Attila—less boldness, magnanimity and nobleness than Coriolanus. You are the Benedict Arnold of the day! you are the Catiline of Kentucky! Go, thou miscreant!" And when in February, 1862, Buckner and some of the "State Guard" were captured at Fort Donelson, and he was sent to Fort Warren, Boston, many of those who were deceived by the pretense that the "Guard" were the "bulwark of the Commonwealth," demanded his delivery to the authorities of Kentucky, to be tried for treason against the State. That was after the Legislature of that State had refused to favor the scheme of the disloyal governor, and Kentucky was feeling the effects of its peculiar "neutrality;" a sort of Unionism that caused Missouri and Kentucky to become battle-fields, and to suffer untold miseries. Their soil was trodden and ravaged by contending armies, which had no respect for what was known as "Kentucky neutrality," for, in the hands of the Secessionists it was only an adroit scheme to mislead and confuse the people, a large majority of whom were sincerely attached to the Union.

Although the slaves were not more than one-tenth of the population of Missouri and the best interests of the State were allied to free-labor, the Slave power, wielded by the most active politicians, had such potential influence that it controlled the destiny of that State. By these the election of Claiborne T. Jackson, governor of Missouri, was effected, and he was now one of the most active of the Secessionists. His political friends formed a plan for placing the militia of the State under his absolute control for the benefit of the Confederacy. The chief leader in this scheme was D. M. Frost, of New York, a graduate of West Point, who was commissioned a brigadier and placed at the head of that militia. Frost resolved to seize the Arsenal at St. Louis, and hold possession of that chief city of the Mississippi Valley; and for this purpose he formed a camp near the town with the pretext of disciplining the men under his command. At that time the military post at St. Louis was in charge of Captain Nathaniel M. Lyon, who was vigilant and brave; and when he was satisfied of Frost's treacherous designs, he marched out with a large number of volunteers, surrounded the insurgent camp, and made the leader and his followers prisoners.

It was now late in May, and the Secessionists in Missouri took open issue with the National Government. The latter, satisfied that it was the design of the Confederates to hold military possession of that State and of Kentucky, fortified Cairo, Illinois, at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. It was made impregnable, and became of immense importance to the Union cause; for there some of the land and naval expeditions which performed signal service in the valley of the Mississippi were fitted out.

General W. S. Harney, a conservative in feeling, was at the head of the Department of the West, with his quarters at St. Louis. He returned to his post, after a brief absence, when the excitement was at its height. Wishing to preserve peace, he made a compact with the insurgent leaders not to employ the military arm so long as they should preserve public order. The loyal people were alarmed, for they would not trust the promises of the Secessionists. Happily for the Union cause, the National Government did not sanction the compact. Appreciating the great services of Lyon, he was commissioned a brigadier, and at the close of May he succeeded Harney with the title of Commander of the Department of Missouri.

Early in June, General Lyon, Colonel Blair and others, held a conference with Governor Jackson and General Price, on the subject of pacification. Jackson demanded the disbanding of the Home Guard, composed of loyal Missourians, and the withdrawal of National troops from the State. Lyon peremptorily refused, when Jackson and Price returned to Jefferson City,

the State capital. The Legislature had placed the purse and sword of Missouri in the hands of the governor; and on the 12th of June (1861) he issued a proclamation calling into active service fifty thousand of the militia and raised the standard of revolt, with General Sterling Price as military leader. At the same time he ordered his son to destroy two important railway bridges, and cut the telegraph wires between St. Louis and the State capital. Then began those movements of troops within the borders of Missouri which continued almost incessantly during the entire period of the war, with the most disastrous results to the peace and prosperity of the State. At the same time the disloyal governor of Tennessee (Isham G. Harris) had placed that State in military relations to the Confederacy, similar to that of Virginia, and was working in concert with Jackson. General Gideon J. Pillow, an indifferent leader, was placed in chief command of the troops of both States, and with these he made an unsuccessful effort to seize Cairo. He was soon superseded by Leonidas Polk, a graduate of West Point, and then Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana, who had been commissioned a major-general, and became an earnest leader of Confederate armies in the West.

Civil War had now begun in earnest; and in all parts of the Union, North and South, hosts of armed men were marshaling for the dreadful struggle that ensued. The Confederate government, in order to be nearer the National capital, their coveted object, had resolved to leave Montgomery and make their headquarters at Richmond; while their forces, designed for the capture of Washington, were gathering in large numbers, under General Beauregard, at Manassas, about thirty miles from that city. The president of the Confederacy (Jefferson Davis) left Montgomery for Virginia, on Sunday the 26th of May, with the intention, it was said, of taking command of the Confederate troops there, in person. He was accompanied by his favorite aid, General Wigfall, of Fort Sumter fame, and by Robert Toombs, his secretary of state. His journey was a continual ovation. At every railway station, men, women, and children greeted him with enthusiasm. A reporter of the *Richmond Enquirer* was sent to chronicle the events of the journey, whose admiration of the "presidential party" was very pronounced. He spoke of the "flute-like voice" of Davis, and of the excessive modesty of Wigfall and Toombs. "In vain he [Wigfall] would seek some remote part of the cars," said the chronicler; "the crowd hunted him up, and the welkin rang with rejoicings as he addressed them in his emphatic and fervent style of oratory." Of Toombs, he said: "He, too, sought to avoid the call, but the echo would ring with the name of 'Toombs! Toombs!' and the sturdy Georgia statesman had to respond." On the southern verge of

Virginia, some of the State riflemen, designed as an escort to the president, joined the party. With every step the popularity of their "chief magistrate" seemed to be more and more manifest, for the people felt that "the mantle of Washington had fallen gracefully upon his shoulders." At Goldsboro', "the Hall," said the reporter, "was thronged with beautiful girls, and many were decking him with garlands of flowers, while others fanned him. It was a most interesting occasion. Never were a people more enraptured with their chief magistrate."

At Richmond, Davis was received with equal enthusiasm; and at the Fair-ground he addressed an immense multitude of people. With a consciousness of power, he spoke bitter words against the Government whose kindness he had ever experienced. He flattered the vanity of the Virginians by reminding them that they had been chosen to "smite the invaders;" and he assured them there was "not one true son of the South who was not ready to shoulder his musket, to bleed, to die, or to conquer in the cause of liberty here. . . . We have now reached the point," he continued, "where, arguments being exhausted, it only remains for us to stand by our weapons. When the time and occasion serve, we shall smite the smiter with manly arms, as did our fathers before us, and as becomes their sons. To the enemy we leave the base acts of the assassin and incendiary. To them we leave it to insult helpless women; to us belongs vengeance upon man." The Virginians were too insane with passion to resent his virtual reiteration of the selfish words of Pickens: "You may plant your seed in peace, for Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of the battle;" and they actually rejoiced with pride in the fact that, as he said, upon every hill around their State Capitol were "camps of soldiers from every State in the Confederacy." They purchased an elegant residence for the use of their president, and furnished it sumptuously. There he lived, and exercised the powers of his office for almost four years.



CHAPTER CXVII.

Beauregard's Proclamation—Insurgents at Harper's Ferry—Exploits of an Indiana Regiment—Events on the Virginia Peninsula—Battle at Big Bethel—National Troops on the Upper Potomac—The Capital in Danger—A Gunpowder Plot—Action of England and France—"Punch's" Epigram—Conduct of Great Britain and the Western European Powers—Russia—Meeting of Congress—Department Reports—Appropriations—Increase of the Navy—Enthusiasm of the People—Women's Work—Miss Dix—United States Sanitary and Christian Commissions—Benevolent Work in Philadelphia.

THE fulfillment of the prediction that "Poor Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of battle," had now begun. Beauregard was in command of a constantly increasing force at Manassas, at the beginning of June, and there was a general belief that under the instruction of President Davis, he would attempt the seizure of the capital. In characteristic words, he sent forth a proclamation calculated to "fire the Southern heart." "A reckless and unprincipled tyrant," he said, "has invaded your soil." He assured them that Lincoln had thrown "Abolition hosts" among them, and were murdering and imprisoning their citizens, confiscating and destroying property, and "committing other acts of violence and outrage too revolting to humanity to be enumerated. All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by these acts, if not on their banners, that their war-cry is 'Beauty and Booty.' All that is dear to men—your honor and that of your wives and daughters, your fortune and your lives—are involved in the momentous contest." No man knew better than Beauregard that, at that moment, the only National troops in Virginia, excepting those in the loyal western portion, were the handful of men holding Arlington Heights, the Long Bridge, Alexandria and the village of Hampton near Fortress Monroe, in a merely defensive attitude, against thousands of insurgents who were marshaling under that leader for the avowed purpose of seizing the National capital. He knew that the only "murder" and "outrage" yet committed by National troops was the single act of killing the assassin of Colonel Ellsworth. The author of the Proclamation was noted throughout the war for ridiculous boastings, official mendacity, and conspicuous military failures.

Late in May, Joseph E. Johnston, a captain of Topographical Engineers and a meritorious officer who had deserted his flag and accepted the commission of brigadier-general from its enemies, took command of the insurgent troops at Harper's Ferry and in the Shenandoah Valley. At the same time General Robert Patterson, a veteran of two wars, was gathering troops at Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, to attack Johnston. He moved forward with fifteen thousand men early in June, under instructions from General Scott to "attempt nothing without a clear prospect of success," as the enemy were "strongly posted and equal in numbers." Already, as we have observed, the insurgents had been smitten at Philippi, in Western Virginia; and just as Patterson began his march, an Indiana Zouave Regiment, led by Colonel Lewis Wallace, struck the Confederates a blow at Romney, in that mountain region, which gave them great alarm. That regiment, one of the best disciplined in the field, had been chafing under forced inaction in Southern Indiana, and Wallace urged their employment in active service. He was gratified by being ordered to Cumberland, to report to General Patterson. In less than three days after the receipt of the order, they had traversed Indiana and Ohio; received their ammunition at Grafton, in Western Virginia, and were at Cumberland. Resting a single day, Wallace proceeded to strike a band of insurgents at Romney; and on the night of the 10th of June, 1861, led by a competent guide, the regiment made a silent march along a rough and perilous mountain-path, but did not reach the vicinity of the insurgents until late in the evening of the 12th. They at once attacked the Confederates with such skill and bravery, that they fled to the shelter of the forests, followed by all the villagers, excepting the few negroes. In the space of twenty-four hours, Wallace and his men had traveled eighty-four miles (forty-six of them on foot), engaged in a brisk skirmish, and returned; "and what is more," wrote Colonel Wallace in his report, "my men are ready to repeat it to-morrow." This dash caused Johnston to evacuate Harper's Ferry, for he believed the assailants to be the advance of a much larger force. He moved up the Valley, and took post near Winchester.

While the campaign was thus opening in Western Virginia, stirring events were occurring near Fortress Monroe. The possession of that post was of the first importance to both parties; and Colonel J. B. Magruder, who had deserted his flag, was sent down the Virginia Peninsula, with a considerable force, to attempt its seizure. General B. F. Butler, who was then in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, with his headquarters at Fortress Monroe, took measures to oppose him. General E. W. Pearce was placed in command of an expedition that was to march

in two columns against the insurgents. He was to lead, from near Hampton, Duryea's Fifth (Zouave) New York Regiment, and Townsend's Third, to Little Bethel, where he was to be joined by detachments from Colonel Phelps's command at Newport-Newce. The latter were composed of battalions of Massachusetts and Vermont troops, Bendix's Germans of New York, known as the Steuben Rifle Regiment, and a battery of two light field-pieces in charge of Lieutenant John T. Greble of the regular army, with eleven artillery men.



A SCENE AT BETHEL.

Both columns marched at about midnight. An order to secure mutual recognition was neglected, and as the columns approached in the gloom, they mistook each other for enemies, and fired, killing and maiming some of the men. The mistake was instantly discovered, and the combined columns pressed on toward Magruder's fortifications at Big Bethel. The noise of the firing had been heard there, which caused the scattered Confederates to concentrate their forces in time to meet the Nationals. A sharp engagement ensued. The Nationals were repulsed; and just as Lieutenant Greble ordered his field-pieces to be made ready for the retreat, a cannon-ball struck his temple a glancing blow, and he fell dead. So perished, at

the very opening of the great Civil War, the first of the officers of the regular army who fell in that conflict. Generous, brave and good, Lieutenant Greble was beloved by all who knew him. His body was carried to Philadelphia, his native city, where it lay in state one day, in Independence Hall, and was buried with military honors in Woodland Cemetery. Major Theodore Winthrop, an accomplished young officer, was also killed at Bethel, while bravely contending with the insurgents. He was a member of General Butler's staff, and his military secretary. When Butler was informed of the action, he proceeded to join the expedition in person, but at Hampton he received tidings of the disaster. It was a result which alarmed and mortified the nation; but the public mind was soon absorbed in the contemplation of far greater and more momentous movements. The failure at Bethel was undoubtedly chargeable more to a general eagerness to do, without experience in doing, than to any special shortcomings of individuals.

For a month after the dash on Romney, Wallace and his men were in a perilous situation; but by boldness and audacity of action, a wholesome fear of the Zouaves was created among the Confederates. By ceaseless activity they guarded the Baltimore and Ohio Railway for more than a hundred miles; and so distinguished were their services, unaided, that General Patterson wrote to Wallace: "I begin to doubt whether the Eleventh Indiana needs reinforcements." Wallace was soon afterward commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers.

When Johnston abandoned Harper's Ferry, General Patterson, who had received intimations that he was expected to cross the Potomac, pushed his columns forward from Hagerstown and threw about nine thousand troops across the river at Williamsport, where it was fordable. These were led by General George Cadwallader, who commanded five companies of cavalry. At that moment Scott telegraphed to Patterson to send him all his regular troops and a few others under his command. This order was repeated; and again it was repeated early in the morning of the 17th, when the General-in-Chief said: "We are pressed here; send the troops I have twice called for, without delay." Patterson obeyed, but was compelled to call back the remainder of his force into Maryland.

The danger hinted at by the General-in-Chief was great indeed. Beauregard was preparing to move on the capital before the assembling of Congress on the 4th of July. The Confederate government, aided by the Secessionists of Virginia and Maryland, were employing every means in their power to accomplish that end. Washington was swarming with enemies, open and secret. Plotters were at work. The confederate archives

at the capital reveal some ugly facts; among others, that the Confederate secretary of war received a proposition to blow up the Capitol with gunpowder that should be conveyed secretly to its crypts, some time between the 4th and 5th of July, when Congress would be in session and possibly the President might be present. The proposition was entertained, and directions were given for a conference between the conspirators and Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate attorney-general. This scheme for wholesale murder was abandoned then, and Congress assembled quietly at the appointed time.

When Congress met (July 4, 1861) the public welfare demanded immediate and energetic action, and that legislation should be confined to providing means for the salvation of the Republic. Our foreign relations were in a critical state. Confederate emissaries at European courts had created a general impression among statesmen and publicists, that our nation was only a league of States that might be dissolved when a member became dissatisfied. They had magnified the power and unity of the Confederacy, and had made the most tempting offer of free-trade in cotton to Great Britain and France. The belief soon became general that the Republic was hopelessly shattered. Foreign representatives at Washington wrote to their respective governments that the United States were hopelessly dismembered; and leaders of public sentiment in Europe effected to be amazed at the seeming folly of Congress in legislating as if the Union, "one and inseparable," had a future. Some of them were anxious to widen the breach, and so diminish the power of the United States by disunity; for they were jealous of our expanding greatness as a nation, and regarded our republican form of government as a standing menace of the unstable thrones.

Great Britain and France seemed to be equally anxious for the overthrow of the Union, and they entered into a secret agreement to act in concert. They even went so far as to apprise other European governments of this understanding, with the expectation that the latter would concur with them. So, at the very beginning of our difficulties, these two professedly friendly powers had clandestinely entered into a combination for arraying all Europe on the side of the insurgents, and giving them moral and material aid. Our loyal people could not, at first, comprehend the unfriendly acts and tone of the British government and the chief representatives of the British people, until the touchstone of Montesquieu's assertion was applied: "Other nations have made the interests of commerce yield to those of politics; the English, on the contrary, have ever made political interests give way to those of commerce." And the traditional philanthropy of the English in

behalf of the slave, made the following notable epigram of the London *Punch*, appear to us, at first, like a good-natured slander:

“Though with the North we sympathize,
It must not be forgotten,
That with the South we’ve stronger ties
Which are composed of cotton,
Whereof our imports ’mount unto
A sum of many figures;
And where would be our calico
Without the toil of niggers?

The South enslaves their fellow-men,
Whom we love all so dearly,
The North keeps commerce bound again,
Which touches us more nearly.
Thus a divided duty we
Perceive in this hard matter—
Free trade or sable brothers free?
O, will we choose the latter?”

This epigram gave the key to the secret motives of the English government. The astute Frenchman, Count Gasparin, clearly perceived them. He knew the seductive influence of the bribe of free cotton on a manufacturing people like those of Great Britain; and nearly two months before her public acts in favor of the insurgents were manifested, he gave this warning: “Let England beware! It were better for her to lose Malta, Corfu and Gibraltar, than the glorious position which her struggle against Slavery and the Slave-trade has secured her in the esteem of the nations. Even in an age of armored frigates and rifled-cannon, the chief of all powers, thank God! is moral power. Woe to the nation that disregards it, and consents to immolate its principles to its interests! From the beginning of the present conflict the enemies of England, and they are numerous, have predicted that the cause of cotton will weigh heavier in her scales than the cause of justice and liberty. They are preparing to judge her by her conduct in the American crisis. Once more, let her beware!”

The British ministry did not heed the warning. So early as the 9th of May (1861), Lord John Russell, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, said in Parliament, in reply to the question, What position has the government intended to take? “The Attorney and Solicitor-General and the Queen’s Advocate and the Government have come to the opinion that the Southern Confederacy of America, according to those principles which seem to them to be just principles, must be treated as a belligerent.” This was prepara-

tory to an open recognition of the independence of the Confederacy, a motion for which was then pending in Parliament. The Queen and her beloved husband, the Prince Consort, felt a real friendship for the Americans, who had treated their son, the Prince of Wales, so kindly only a few months before, but she yielded to ministerial pressure, and on the 13th of May, issued a proclamation of neutrality, in which belligerent rights were accorded to the insurgents, and a virtual acknowledgment of the Confederation as a national power. It was followed in the British Parliament, and among the Tory classes and in the Tory newspapers of the realm, by the most dogmatic assertions that the Republic of the West was hopelessly crumbling into ruins and was unworthy of respectful consideration.

All this was done with unseemly haste, before Mr. Charles Francis Adams, chosen by the new Administration to represent the United States at the Court of St. James, had presented his credentials. When that event occurred, and the tone of Mr. Adams's instructions were known, the British ministry paused, and took council of prudence and expediency. Mr. Adams had been instructed by the American Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) especially to counteract the influence of Confederate agents at court. "You will in no case," said the instructions, "listen to any suggestions of compromise by this Government under foreign auspices, with its discontented citizens. If, as the President does not at all apprehend, you shall unhappily find her Majesty's government tolerating the application of the so-called Confederate States, or wavering about it, you will not leave them to suppose, for a moment, that they can grant that application and remain the friends of the United States. You may even assure them promptly, in that case, that if they determine to recognize, they may at the same time prepare to enter into an alliance with the enemies of this Republic. You, alone, will represent your country at London, and you will represent the whole of it there. When you are asked to divide that duty with others, diplomatic relations between the government of Great Britain and this Government will be suspended, and will remain so until it shall be seen which of the two is most strongly intrenched in the confidence of their respective nations and of mankind."

The high position taken by Mr. Seward, in the name of his Government, in that able letter of instructions, was doubtless one of the chief causes for the fortunate delay of the British government in the matter of recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy. Its puissance was increased by the manifest opposition of the great mass of the "common people" of Great Britain, to the unfriendly conduct of their government and the ruling classes toward the real Government of the United States. The friendly atti-

tude of Russia toward the United States was another cause for delay. The cautious Emperor of the French followed Great Britain, and on the 17th of June issued a decree according belligerent rights to the Confederates; so also did the Queen of Spain proclaim the neutrality of her government, and entered upon a scheme with Napoleon III. for replanting the seeds of monarchical institutions in America now that the great Republic was about to expire. The King of Portugal also recognized the insurgents as belligerents, on the 29th of July; but the enlightened Emperor of Russia (Alexander II.), who was about to strike the shackles from almost forty million slaves in his own dominions, instructed (July 10) his representative at Washington to say: "In every event, the American nation may count upon the most cordial sympathy on the part of our most august master during the important crisis which it is passing through at present." The powers of Western Europe, regarding the Russian Emperor as a promised ally of the Republic of the West, behaved prudently.

It was on Thursday, the 4th of July, 1861, and the eighty-fourth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, when the Thirty-seventh Congress assembled at the National capital, in extraordinary session. It was a critical time in the history of our country. Civil War was kindling over a quarter of a million square miles of the Republic, and enemies of the nation's life were menacing its Capitol and its archives with utter destruction. Within the sound of great guns, armies were then gathering for that purpose; and secret emissaries of the Confederacy, it was believed, instructed with errands of deadliest mischief, were prowling about the halls of Congress and the President's house. As promptly as the militia of the country, the members of the National Legislature had responded to the President's call. Twenty-three States were represented in the Senate, and one hundred and fifty-four members of the Lower House were present on the first day of the session, while ten slave-labor States were not represented. In both Houses there was a large working majority of Unionists; yet there was a considerable faction who sympathized with the Confederates in their application of the doctrine of State-supremacy and in opposition to coercive measures.

The President, in his message, after setting forth the causes of trouble, the acts of the insurgents, and the necessity for giving strength to the Executive arm, said: "It is now recommended, that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the Government, for the work, at least four hundred thousand men and four hundred millions of dollars." That number of men constituted only one-tenth of those of proper age for military service in the regions where, apparently, all were willing to engage; and the sum of money asked

for, was less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seemed willing to devote the whole.

The President's message was accompanied by important reports from three heads of departments. The Secretary of War (Simon Cameron) recommended the enlistment of men for three years; appropriations for extraordinary expenses; the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of War, and an increase of the clerical force in his department. The Secretary of the Treasury (Salmon P. Chase) asked for \$240,000,000 for war purposes, and \$80,000,000 for the current expenses of the Government. He proposed to raise these amounts by three different methods. For the civil service, he proposed to procure a revenue by increased duties on specified articles and a system of internal taxation, for war purposes, by a National loan in the form of Treasury notes bearing an interest of one cent a day on fifty dollars, or in bonds, made redeemable at the pleasure of the Government after a period not exceeding thirty years, and bearing an interest not exceeding six per centum a year. He further recommended the issue of Treasury notes for a smaller amount.

The Secretary of the Navy (Gideon Wells), who had been compelled to resort to extraordinary measures to save the Republic, asked Congress to sanction his acts; to authorize the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and to appoint commissioners to inquire into the expediency of using iron-clad steamers or floating batteries.

The suggestions of the President and the heads of departments were followed by prompt action on the part of Congress. They at once made provisions for the sinews of war and to strengthen the arm of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic. They approved of the President's call for militia and volunteers. They authorized the raising of five hundred thousand troops; and they made an appropriation of \$500,000,000 to defray the expenses of the kindling Civil War. They carried out the suggestions of the Secretary of the Treasury concerning methods for procuring the money, by increased taxes and the issue of interest-bearing Treasury notes or bonds. Each House was purged of disloyal members by the expulsion of ten Senators and one Representative. The Secretary of the Navy was upheld by Congress; and putting forth extraordinary exertions to increase the naval force of the country, he purchased, before the close of the year, and put into commission, no less than one hundred and thirty-seven vessels, and contracted for the building of a large number of substantial steamships for sea service. He called attention to the importance of iron-clad vessels; and so promptly were his requisitions for recruits complied with, that no vessel was ever detained for more than two or three days by want of men. Two

hundred and fifty-nine officers had resigned or been dismissed from the service for disloyalty since the 4th of March, and several vessels were sent to sea without a full complement of officers; but the want was soon supplied, for many retired officers, who had engaged in civil pursuits, now came to the aid of their country in its hour of need, and were re-commissioned. Many masters and mates were appointed from the commercial marine. The Naval School and public property at Annapolis had been removed to Newport, Rhode Island, for safety, and the seminary found temporary accommodations in Fort Adams there.

When Congress met, there were about three hundred thousand Union troops in the field, and the enthusiasm of the people in the free-labor States was at fever heat. They contributed men, money and soldiers, with lavish generosity. Women, animated by their natural zeal in labors of mercy, went to work with busy fingers preparing lint and bandages for the wounded and hospital garments for the sick and maimed. In tens of thousands of households in the land, women and children might be seen engaged in the holy toil; while hundreds of the gentler sex, many of whom had been tenderly nurtured in the lap of ease and luxury, hastened to hospitals in camps and towns, and there, with saintly self-sacrifice, they performed the duties of nurse, night and day, and administered, in every way, with all the tenderness of affectionate mothers and sisters, to the wants of the sick, the wounded, and the dying.

Associated efforts in this benevolent work were first organized by Miss Dorothea L. Dix, a woman extensively known in our country for her labors of love in behalf of the poor, the unfortunate, and the afflicted. Perceiving war to be inevitable, she offered her services to the Government gratuitously, in organizing a system for providing comfort for the sick and wounded soldiers. They were accepted. Only eight days after the President's call for troops, the Secretary of War proclaimed: "Be it known to all whom it may concern, that the free services of Miss D. L. Dix are accepted by the War Department, and that she will give, at all times, all necessary aid in organizing military hospitals for the care of all the sick or wounded soldiers, aiding the chief surgeons by supplying nurses and substantial means for the comfort and relief of the suffering; also, that she is fully authorized to receive, control, and disburse special supplies bestowed by individuals or associations for the comfort of their friends or the citizen soldiers from all parts of the United States." Surgeon-General R. C. Wood, recognizing the ability of Miss Dix for the task she had volunteered to perform, publicly requested all women who offered their services as nurses to report to her.

"Like an angel of mercy," says an historian of the war, "this self-sacrificing woman labored day and night thorough the entire war for the relief of the suffering soldiers, without expecting or receiving any pecuniary reward. She went from battle-field to battle-field when the carnage was over; from camp to camp, and from hospital to hospital, superintending the operations of the nurses, and administering with her own hands physical



WOMEN AT WORK IN THE WAR.

comfort to the suffering, and soothing the troubled spirits of the invalid or dying soldier with a voice low, musical and attractive, and always burdened with words of heartfelt sympathy and religious consolation. . . . Yet she was not the only Sister of Mercy engaged in this holy work. She had hundreds of devoted, earnest, self-sacrificing co-workers of the gentler sex all over the land, serving with equal zeal in the camp and hospitals of National and Confederate armies; and no greater heroism was dis-

played by soldiers in the field than was exhibited by these American women everywhere."

At near the close of April, a large number of the best women of New York city met at the Cooper Institute and formed *The Women's Central Association for Relief*, with the late Dr. Valentine Mott as President. Auxiliary associations of women were formed all over the free-labor States; and very soon there was such a perfect system of relief organized, that all demands were promptly met. As the war went on it was discovered that a better system was needed, to have an official connection with the War Department; and after much effort, *The United States Sanitary Commission* was organized, with Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D.D., as President. Out of this spontaneous movement of the women at the beginning also grew *The United States Christian Commission*, a sturdy outgrowth of the *Young Men's Christian Associations* of the country. A brief history of these commissions will be given hereafter.

A great work of Christian benevolence, begun at this time in Philadelphia, went on through the war. That city lay in the pathway of troops going to Washington from the East. They crossed the Delaware at Camden, landed at Washington avenue, and took cars for the South. Many of them sought in vain for food before leaving on the railway trains. One morning, the wife of a mechanic, living near where the soldiers landed, touched by their condition, went out with her pot of coffee and a cup and distributed its contents among them. The generous hint was a prolific germ of charity. Other women in the neighborhood imitated the example of the mechanic's wife; and very soon they formed a Committee of Relief to give refreshments systematically to passing soldiers. Gentlemen in the neighborhood interested themselves in procuring supplies, and these were distributed in the shade of trees near a cooper-shop. Then the owner (Mr. Cooper) generously gave the use of his shop for a refreshment saloon, and very soon whole regiments were fed there at tables bountifully supplied with food and coffee by the contributions of the citizens of Philadelphia. The room was not spacious enough, and another "saloon" was opened the next day after that at the cooper-shop, and called the *Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon*. The generous citizens of Philadelphia supplied these saloons so liberally, that a bountiful meal was furnished to every soldier who applied, during four years. The number fed at the two saloons was about twelve hundred thousand. Of that number, seven hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were fed at *The Union Volunteer Saloon*. Full forty thousand had a night's lodging there, and fifteen thousand refugees and freedmen were cared for and employment found for them. A hospital was attached to the saloon, and in

it twenty thousand soldiers had their wounds dressed. At all hours of the day and night devoted women were in readiness to prepare meals and wait upon passing soldiers, whenever a little signal-gun, warning them of the approach of troops, was fired. Who can estimate the vast sum of relief afforded during the war by the hands of patriotic, warm-hearted; sympathetic women?

The firemen of Philadelphia also did noble work. When sick and wounded soldiers began to be brought to the Government hospitals in Philadelphia, the Medical Department often found it difficult to provide vehicles to take them from the vessels to their destination, and there was much suffering on account of delays. The sympathetic firemen of the city made arrangements to give a signal when invalid soldiers arrived, when they would turn out with wagons to convey them to the hospitals. Finally, the Northern Liberties Engine Company had a fine ambulance constructed for the purpose. Other fire companies of the city followed the example; and in these ambulances, one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers were conveyed tenderly from vessels to the hospitals, during the war.



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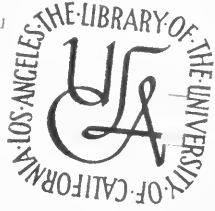
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